THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, **The Social Contract** journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. VII, No. 2 Winter 1996-1997

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 316½ East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI, 49770.
Phone (616) 347-1171, fax (616) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above,
or Email to soccon@freeway.net. See our World Wide Web page at http:\www.tscpress.com.
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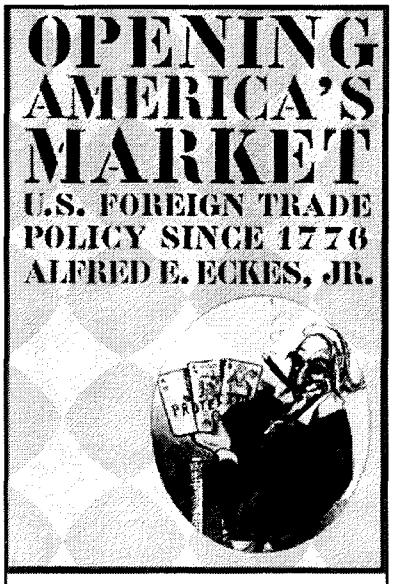

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The Social Contract is published quarterly.

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Editorial and Subscription Offices:
316½ E. Mitchell Street, Petoskey, Michigan 49770
phone: 616-347-1171, fax: 616-347-1185
Email: soccon@freeway.net
World Wide Web page: http://www.tscpress.com
Third Class Postage is paid at Petoskey, Michigan
Printed on Recycled Paper

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Letter from the editor

Song of the Sirens

Like so many sea godesses luring sailors to their destruction on the rocks, the political strategists and cheap labor advocates are trying to persuade the policy-makers to keep the country on a course toward catastrophe.

In the light of the recent congressional elections, some Republican pundits are urging their colleagues to drop immigration as an issue and start courting immigrants instead — in hopes of getting a third of their votes! Our feature section covers the debate on this issue. Frequent contributor David Simcox leads off with an overall analysis of the various campaigns; opposition stalwarts Paul Gigot and Linda Chavez make their case, with replies by Samuel Francis, Scott McConnell, Lawrence Auster and others. And not all the voting was by Marquis of Queensberry rules— (former) Congressman Robert Dornan and researcher Karen Saranita write on vote fraud. The PRI is moving north!

The message we took from the election is that demography is destiny — that Americans had better realize this soon and, in the words of one planning document, "bring the age of immigration to a close" before they find themselves on the outside looking in.[1]

Elsewhere in this issue you will find essays on Australia and Canada, on the role of fiction in social change, and our continuing review of the history of immigration reform: we do not want to fulfill Santayana's dictum and either learn the lessons — or repeat the mistakes — of others.

I write these comments the day after my own Senator, Spencer Abraham (R-Michigan), assumed the chairmanship of the immigration subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is chaired by another pro-immigration Senator, Hatch of Utah. To make his announcement Abraham traveled, not to his home state of Michigan, but to California. There he appeared with a number of computer company executives to deliver the message that Americans weren't good enough for the jobs they had to offer; they had to have folks from overseas.

Oh yes, incidentally, by keeping the market flooded, the labor costs can be driven down toward world standards (not for the executives though). One wonders how much soft political money the good Senator stashed away in exchange for selling out the American worker.

Fortunately, on the House side Lamar Smith still chairs the immigration subcommittee, but with the ample Abraham more than filling the chairman's chair in the Other Body, progress will be difficult — at least until his term is up in the year 2000. Other means of moving the immigration issue will have to be found.

Which calls to mind a quote from David Hume: "Small reforms are the enemy of big reforms." I think that many of us, at least initially, held to this maxim, but now reality has crept in. A decade ago, then-Senator Simpson tried to push through a comprehensive bill addressing both legal and illegal immigration, but had to drop the former component to get anything passed on the latter. Representative Smith had the same experience in the last session of the 104th Congress. With comprehensive bills there is something for every one to oppose.

On the other hand, a number of advances have come in small packages through other than the immigration committees, the new strictures on welfare for legal immigrants being a good example. Perhaps, at least for our issue, Hume's adage should be recast: "Small reforms are *one way to* big reforms." Unfortunately, this concept is a difficult one to sell to many funders and to the activists in the trenches who are living day to day with the consequences of our chaotic immigration policies.

Last October, The Social Contract Press, parent of this quarterly journal, brought out its first catalog of print and video materials. In the last quarter of 1996, we sold over 1000 titles, so apparently a need is being fulfilled. For information or a free copy of this catalog or other materials, call 1-800-352-4843.

We wish you an enjoyable and informative time with this issue.

JOHN H. TANTON,
Editor and Publisher

[1] See "End of the Migration Epoch," by this editor in *The Social Contract*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Spring 1994, p. 162-175 and Vol. V, No. 1, Fall 1994, p. 28-47. Call 1-800-352-4843.

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Letters from our readers

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT **Forum**

SEND US YOUR COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS VIA:

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Re: Anchor Babies

Editor:

Thank you and your contributors for the *excellent* exposition on "anchor babies" in the Fall 1996 THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. I quite agree that the question was never in the minds of those who wrote the Fourteenth Amendment, but I also quite agree that it should *not* be interpreted in such a way as to confer automatic citizenship on the children of illegal immigrants. The several articles were very good reading.

THEODORE M. UTCHEN
Wheaton, Illinois

The Struggle for 'Official' English

Editor:

Yesterday my wife and I went shopping for some home improvement items at the Home Depot. While prowling the aisles looking for various odds and ends, I couldn't help but notice that hardly any of the customers were speaking English to each other. I'm pretty good at identifying European languages, but with all the skin colors and other configurations, I'm now out of my league. Can't figure out where most of these people come from. I'm used to traveling abroad, especially in South America where I can pretty well get along in the language, but right here in Sacramento I do begin to wonder if somebody else has thoroughly succeeded in taking over my country. I feel like a foreigner in my own home town.

The Arizona "Official English" story shows a shameful desecration of American freedom of expression and points up our ridiculous legal processes. Nobody can dispute that the English language is the major "glue" factor in unifying what has always been a country of new arrivals, people who have wanted to get into the main stream and become Americans.

What's going on now? Any immigrants who aspire to higher levels know instinctively that they must learn to be fluent in English. It's the lower levels who don't care very much, although — despite the destructive effects of double-language instruction in the schools — most of them do want their children to learn English to get ahead. It certainly looks to me like it is the self-appointed "leaders" who are doing the dirty work. This includes Americans and foreigners of many categories. Some well-meaning Americans think that it's more important to preserve foreign, or blessed "multicultural" identity than to become Americanized; the foreign-born "leaders" have some kind of objective of getting special privileges for a constituency that hardly existed until the leaders came along and tried to persuade newcomers that they should "exert their rights".

As for Puerto Rico, my mind boggles at the thought of accepting a state into the union that wants to inject a foreign language as official language in the USA. If they don't want to be Americans, let them speak their own dreadful brand of Spanish and stay out! I don't think even any self-respecting South American would like such a debased form of Spanish to enter their countries as "official."

No, I'm not a Radical Rightist, just a plain American who has a pretty good idea of what made

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this country great and also of forces that can destroy it if left untended. Until recently, immigrants have wanted to become citizens and to become real Americans to enhance the common good, not to gain special privileges from a benighted and thoroughly frightened bunch of ninnies on Capitol Hill.

Keep up the English battle. I'm certainly not opposed to learning other languages. (I can handle two others quite well, and have picked up enough of others to survive while traveling abroad. It's pitiful that we don't require every American child to learn at least one other language in school, as they do in Europe.) But English is the common and official language of the USA. Don't let people forget it.

ALLEN JAMIESON
Irvine, California

Kudos from Texas

Editor:

[Margaret Mead once affirmed:] "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

It came yesterday. Yes, the Fall 1996 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT came in the mail and with it proof that the "small group" mentioned in the quote above continues to grow and is "committed" to preserving our country and our American dream.

But there are other groups, consciously or unconsciously, that are contributing to the demise of America. For one, the wealthy and politically powerful are knowingly putting their own selfish interests above all else. Another group, uninformed and unconcerned, are reaping the benefits of living in America without accepting any responsibility for its very survival. Many other groups are working for other interests just as harmful. I am aware of these groups and their agendas because I can read.

Yes, I can read and when I read the truth and facts from publications like THE SOCIAL CONTRACT I become even more determined to do my best to "sound the alarm" to the very best of my ability.

As a senior citizen on a limited and fixed income, I cannot contribute financially to reform groups as much as I would like. But believing in the old truism, "If you are not part of the solution you are part of the problem," I have set a goal to talk reform to folks I come in contact with and to write letters giving information and expressing concern to any I believe should be alerted and confronted.

This letter is meant to serve another important purpose — to say "Thank you and God bless you for your every effort for our beloved country."

W.O. MCCRIGHT
Austin, Texas

...And to Another Editor

[*We find this letter to the editors of the* Los Angeles Times *and the* Times *of Orange County (CA) to be of interest to our readers.*]

Your October 30, 1996 report on immigrant voting portrayed Barbara Coe, founder of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCRI) as a radical immigrant basher. Not so. She is a brave lady who is dedicated to stopping all entry of illegals to the U.S. — not only Latinos, all illegals. She was assaulted during a protest march on July 4 by hundreds of PLP hoods, chanting Communist slogans. The *Times* knows this. You reported on the rally on July 5th.

The CCRI and similar anti-immigration groups scrounge for funds from small donors, while the Ford Foundation gives tens of millions to lawyers advocating open borders. Barbara Coe drives a beat-up Caddie with a trunkful of signs to rallies, where she is cursed and spit upon. She tries to save the American way of life while your writers dutifully quote violent activists on the rights of aliens.

Overpopulation is the world's greatest problem. It threatens civilization as we know it. You praise MALDEF and LULAC,* then run sneaking back to your safe enclaves, hoping the Third World won't engulf you.

ANDRE B. KERR
Laguna Hills, California

(* MALDEF is the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; LULAC is the League of United Latin American Citizens.)

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Bulletin Board

Writing for The Social Contract

The editors welcome our readers to submit articles for publication in future issues of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. These should be in the area of our concerns for population growth, guarding the environment, immigration reform and the preservation of American language and culture.

The article may be something seen in a newspaper or newsletter. Our readers in Arizona or California often send us clippings that are of interest to a nation-wide readership, and the same holds true for items seen only in the East or South.

You may have an idea for an article of your own. In this case, give us a call and let us know what your subject and outline would be.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is **http://www.tscpress.com**. Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, a list of books for sale, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, plus the internet addresses of other groups working on immigration reform, population control and national unity questions.

This home page also hosts the newsletter of the Biocentric Institute edited by William Dickinson.

Other internet sites to visit include:

Philip Martin who publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <gopher://dual.ucdavis.edu> and Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at: <heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.

Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition to Reform Immigration and his web site is: <www.enteract.com/~mcri97>.

E-mail addresses for related organizations:

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) <fair@fairus.org>

Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) <center@cis.org>

Negative Population Growth (NPG) <103527.3545@compuserve.com>

Carrying Capacity Network (CCN) <ccn@igc.apc.org>

Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) <caps@calweb.com>

Philip Martin of *Immigration News* <migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu>

And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address: <soccon@freeway.net>

Affirmative Action Update

Writer Jim Robb's article for the Winter 1995-1996 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT (Vol. VI, No.2) has opened significant debate on the issue of affirmative action for immigrants. To foster further articles on the topic and to encourage dialogue, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is sponsoring a site on the internet dedicated to that topic.

Click on www.netcom.com/~jimrobb. You will find the executive summary of his monograph, "Affirmative Action for Immigrants?" as well as reprints of other essays, op-eds and speeches on the subject. There is a place for your comments and questions.

USA-187: Immigration Moratorium Buttons

Last August, during Immigration Awareness Week II, held in San Diego at the opening of the Republican national convention and the parallel Latino Rights Anti-Immigration Reform protest march, a plane flew overhead trailing the banner:

"USA-187: IMMIGRATION MORATORIUM!"

Although the news media did not make note of this effort to take the idea of California's Proposition 187 nation-wide, the fly-by grabbed the attention of immigration activists, protesters, and convention delegates.

Sponsored by the Foundation for Optimal Planetary Survival (FOPS), USA-187 buttons are now available at 100 for $21.00, which includes postage & handling. Send your check or money order to FOPS, attention: SuSu Levy, 8776 E. Shea, #B3A-207, Scottsdale, AZ 85260; (602)661-6350. TSC

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Hispanic Muscle in the 1996 Elections

How much and for whom?

by David Simcox

Even before the votes were recounted, immigration expansionists proclaimed Democrat Loretta Sanchez Brixey's narrow victory over long-seated Republican Congressman Robert Dornan in Orange County, California as a "Hispanic backlash" against restrictionism and a warning to Republicans, and other skeptics about immigration, of growing Hispanic voting strength.

As a *New York Times* editorial observed it, the growing Asian and Hispanic electorate in Orange was looking for something more than the nostrums of the right wing — immigrant bashing did not prove to be a magic formula in the election.

Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal* and Linda Chavez, in the *New York Times*, saw Sanchez's victory as a warning shot to the Republican party to back off its support for immigration reform or risk similar punishment from rising Hispanic voting power. [Editor's note: See the articles by Chavez and Gigot on pages 83 and 86 respectively.]

But other interpretations of Dornan's defeat were less tendentious. A *New York Times* reporter, diverging from the *Times*' editorialists and pundits, reported on December 18 that Sanchez's staff believed that Dornan's vulnerability stemmed from his ineffectiveness as a congressman. Sanchez, he noted, campaigned on local issues of jobs and crime, not immigration.

Columnists Jack Germond and Jules Witcover noted Dornan's loss "could not be attributed to the outpouring of Hispanic Americans alone. The demographics of his district did not change dramatically in the past two years." Rather, they concluded, Dornan's constituents had been "surprised" by what they found out about him during his 1996 run for the Presidency.

The record hardly shows Dornan was a leading "immigrant basher." While he was often tactless toward minorities, on the Hill he was not outspoken on immigration, did not co-sponsor the House bill, and was absent for the final vote on it. *National Review* editor John O'Sullivan even called Dornan a "strong supporter of the *Wall Street Journal*'s pro-immigration line."

O'Sullivan himself found that Hispanics in the 1996 elections had reverted to their traditional tendency to vote overwhelmingly Democratic — thus the Clinton administration's acquiescence in high immigration and promotion of mass naturalizations. His concern was that the Republican party might mistakenly conclude from Dornan's defeat that it could win over Hispanics from the Democratic column with a generous immigration stance of its own.[1]

One Election in One District Does Not a Trend Make

The low turn-out in Sanchez's defeat of Dornan suggests his customary backers voted unenthusiastically. But the vote for Sanchez hardly indicates high Hispanic mobilization. In a district that is half Hispanic, she mustered fewer than 50,000 votes — less than half the average vote of California's successful non-Hispanic House candidates and well below most other victorious Hispanic candidates.

Beware of conclusions from a single congressional race about a presumed Hispanic backlash or about the political liabilities of restrictionism. A broader look at the election performances of major immigration reform advocates in the House suggests the opposite conclusion — support for sound

***David Simcox** is a senior fellow at the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies, which he served as its first executive director. He currently resides in Louisville, Kentucky, where he leads a think tank, Migration Demographics.*

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Table 1
Election performances of Texas congressmen co-sponsoring immigration reform in 1994 and 1996, with 1992 Hispanic percentage in districts.

Member of Congress	District % Hisp. (1992)	'94 Vote (000s)	% of '94 Total Vote	'96 Vote (000s)	% of '96 Total Vote
Smith (R)	14.1	158.3	90.0	205.8	76.0
Bryant (D)	17.9	61.3	50.0	Ran for	Senate
Bonilla (R)**	63.0	72.8	62.0	101.3	62.0
Archer (R)	11.9	Unopposed		152.0	81.0
Johnson (R)	6.0	157.0	91.0	142.3	73.0
Reyes (D)*	70.4			90.3	71.8
Stenholm (D)	17.2	83.5	54.0	99.5	52.0

* Not a co-sponsor. Included for comparison purposes only.
** Voted to table legal immigration reform.
Source of election results for this and subsequent tables:
New York Times, November 7, 1994 and November 10, 1996

immigration policy remains sound politics. A broader view will also give a more accurate measure of actual Hispanic voting strength and test the underlying assumption that Hispanics are uniformly for expansion of immigration.

Two Hispanic Immigration Reformers Run Well

Representative Henry Bonilla, a Republican from a Texas border district that is 63 percent Hispanic,[2] co-sponsored the House immigration reform bill. Bonilla went on to win 62 percent of the vote to beat a Democratic Hispanic challenger in November. While Bonilla's share of the vote was the same as in 1994, his vote total was 39 percent higher.

Democratic newcomer Silvestre Reyes rolled-up 70 percent of the vote in defeating a Hispanic rival in the 70 percent-Hispanic El Paso, Texas district. Reyes, a former senior Border Patrol official, became popular by designing and successfully executing "Operation Blockade," which has sharply cut illegal entries in the El Paso border sector.

Reform Co-Sponsors Run Well, Even in Hispanic-influenced Districts

Non-Hispanic Congressmen active in pushing immigration reform suffered little damage in the elections, even in districts with significant Hispanic minorities, particularly if the offsetting drag of an unpopular Republican presidential candidate is taken into account.

Of the 39 Congressmembers co-sponsoring immigration reform in June 1995, only North Carolina Republican Congressman Fred Heineman lost in the general election, in a district with a negligible Hispanic vote.

Lamar Smith, architect of the immigration reform bill and chairman of the House Immigration Sub-Committee, running in a south Texas district that is 14 percent Hispanic, won 30 percent more votes than in 1994, polling more than any other Texas congressional victor.

The tables on these pages compare the 1994 and 1996 election performances of Texas Congressmen who co-sponsored the House immigration reform bill.

All the candidates for House seats in Table 1 were re-elected. For those in contested elections in 1994, all increased their total vote take, but all showed some decline in their percentage of the total vote, in part reflecting a voter turnout that was about one-fifth heavier than in 1994's off-year voting. Republican candidates also suffered from lack of voter appeal at the top of their ticket.

Florida and California Districts Support Immigration Reform Backers

In Florida, Republican co-sponsors McCollum, Canady and Foley were all re-elected with over 62 percent of the vote. Also winning re-election with 62 percent was Clay Shaw, a strong supporter of

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Table 2
Election performance in 1994 and 1996 of California congressmen co-sponsoring immigration reform, with percent Hispanic in districts

Member of Congress	% Hispanic in District (1992)	'94 Vote (000s)	% of '94 Total Vote	'96 Vote (000s)	% of '96 Total Vote
Gallegly (R)	30.0	99.0	66.0	98.4	59.0
Bono (R)	28.1	87.7	56.0	97.5	57.0
Rohrabacher(R)	14.8	116.2	69.0	113.8	61.0
Bilbray (R)	12.8	83.7	49.0	94.8	52.0
Moorhead (R)	20.6	75.6	52.0	Retired	
Hunter (R)	22.6	99.8	64.0	103.2	65.0
Beilenson(D) ****	13.5	84.0	49.0	Retired	
Condit (D)**	26.0	79.8	65.0	98.5	66.0
Herger (R)	6.0	131.8	64.0	131.7	61.0
Cunningham (R)	13.6	124.6	67.0	128.0	65.0
Baker (R)***	8.7	126.3	59.0	121.3	47.0
Dornan*(R)	50.0	46.4	57.0	41.3	46.0
Packard	17.2	132.3	73.0	128.1	65.0

* Not a co-sponsor; entered for comparison purposes only
** Voted to table legal immigration reform
*** Defeated **** Voted against final bill

immigration reform, though not a co-sponsor of the bill, who successfully pushed welfare cuts for immigrants in the welfare reform law he helped shepherd to enactment in 1996.

The picture was similar for California representatives who co-sponsored immigration reform. All but one were re-elected. Five out of 9 increased their share of the vote over 1994. In the five districts that are over 15 percent Hispanic, four of the non-Hispanic incumbents held or increased their share of the vote.

Elton Gallegly, in a district 30 percent Hispanic, saw his share of the vote slip from 66 percent in 1994 to 59 percent in 1996, though his vote turnout was the same. But Sonny Bono, with a Hispanic constituency almost as large as Gallegly's, gained in both percentage and number of votes. Brian Bilbray, who previously had sponsored an even more restrictive immigration bill, increased his share of the vote. These outcomes hardly show that Hispanic voters systematically punished the backers of immigration reform in California.

Altogether, 34 Congressmen were rated by U.S. Border Control, a non-profit immigration reform organization, as having perfect scores in supporting immigration reform on its seven most critical votes in the 104th Congress, including the decisions to remove legal immigration reform from the bill and to make an automated worker verification system voluntary. Fourteen of them were from California. Of the 34 members, only three lost in 1996 — Baker and Seastrand in California and Metcalf in Washington state.

Was there a Hispanic tide, as colorfully predicted in some media? Did Hispanic voters turn out in bigger numbers for the House voting?

With voter registrations up among newly minted citizens, Hispanics increased their share of the total vote cast nationally by about one third, but from a small base. Now more than 9 percent of the U.S. population, Hispanics moved up from three percent of the vote cast in 1994 to four percent in 1996. They remain easily the most underrepresented minority group in the nation's voter turn-out. By comparison, African-Americans, with 12 percent of the total population, cast 10 percent of the vote nationally in 1996, while the Asian-American vote is proportional to the Asian share of the population.

Table 3 shows the increases between 1994 and 1996 in Hispanic turnout in the Congressional districts in seven states with Hispanic incumbents, and compares that performance with that of non-Hispanic candidates. While the percentage increases in the winning vote and total vote are generally larger than in Non-Hispanic districts, the table also makes clear that the average Hispanic contender can still win a Congressional seat with far fewer votes than his Anglo counterpart.

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Table 3
Voting performances of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Winning House Candidates Compared for 7 States with Hispanic Congressmen, 1994-1996

Hispanic/Non-Hispanic Incumbent	Districts	1994 Winner Vote (000s)	1994 Total Vote (000s)	1996 Winner Vote (000s)	1996 Total Vote (000s)	%Total Vote Change 1994-96
Arizona						
Hispanic	1	59.9	96.3	78.1	115.6	20.0
Non-Hispanic	5	119.0	192.6	186.0	222.3	15.4
California						
Hispanic	5	45.5	70.1	57.9	82.2	17.3
Non-Hispanic	47	93.3	154.6	106.9	164.1	6.1
Illinois						
Hispanic	1	95.4	145.7	81.3	86.9	38.8
Non-Hispanic	19	98.2	150.5	135.8	208.3	38.4
New Jersey						
Hispanic	1	67.2	94.6	110.2	134.1	41.8
Non-Hispanic	12	103.5	156.7	126.9	197.6	26.1
New Mexico						
Hispanic	1	99.2	160.9	123.9	179.8	11.7
Non-Hispanic	2	99.7	145.8	88.6	154.6	6.0
New York						
Hispanic	2	47.7	50.2	72.3	78.3	56.0
Non-Hispanic	29	100.4	150.8	114.4	175.0	16.0
Texas						
Hispanic	6	63.7	102.4	88.4	134.8	31.6
Non-Hispanic	29	97.8	151.8	112.2	178.8	17.7
Weighted Averages of the Seven States						
Hispanic	16	54.1	82.0	77.7	105.0	29.4
Non-Hispanic	138	98.3	154.4	117.3	180.0	16.6

(Note: Florida has two congressional districts held by Hispanics, Cuban-American Republicans Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart. They are not included in this chart because both were unopposed in 1994 and 1996, allowing no basis for comparison on voter turn-out.)

The lessons of the numbers are clear. Congressmen closely identified with immigration reform suffered little damage for that reason and generally performed well in the 1996 elections. The outcomes in heavily Hispanic districts show no consistent Hispanic voting patterns on candidates because of their stand on immigration reform. Democratic Congressman Howard Berman, running in California's 26th district, which is 53 percent Hispanic, voted for the final House bill and still increased his share of the vote from 63 percent in 1994 to 66 percent in 1996.

Hispanics in general showed some gains in voting power, though they remain by far the most electorally passive of all ethnic groups. Hispanic Congressmen as a rule represent their districts with very modest mandates indeed. The three persons taking seats in the House of Representatives with the fewest votes in their favor are Congresspersons Xavier Becerra and Lucille Roybal-Allard of inner city Los Angeles and Nydia Velazquez of the Bronx.

While Hispanic candidates increased their share of the vote in their districts by nearly twice the percentage of their non-Hispanic counterparts (29.4 percent vs. 16.6 percent), even that performance becomes less impressive in light of nearly 600,000 new naturalizations since 1994, bilingual ballots, motor-voter registration, and the disproportionate percentages of citizen Hispanic youth who are now attaining voting age compared to other ethnic populations. TSC

[1] John O'Sullivan, "Electing the peoples," *National Review*, December 23, 1996.

[2] All Hispanic population data on congressional districts are from *Congressional Quarterly*, "Congressional Districts in the 1990s," Washington, 1993.

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Election Point and Counterpoint Number One

A Hispanic Political Tide?

by Linda Chavez

Bob Dole received a smaller proportion of the Hispanic vote than any Republican presidential candidate in 25 years, and that is bad news for the GOP.

Hispanics are one of the fastest-growing segments of the population. About 9 percent of the population today, they will likely be the largest minority group in the United States in the next decade or two.

Hispanics are both socially conservative and increasingly middle class, and, in recent years, far more likely than blacks to vote Republican. In 1984, Ronald Reagan won almost 40% of the Hispanic vote.

This year, however, only 21% voted for Bob Dole. His record of support for Hispanics could not overcome their growing suspicion that the GOP is becoming the anti-immigrant party.

Last year's Congressional debate on reducing legal immigration, led by Alan Simpson in the Senate and Lamar Smith in the House, didn't help. Neither did the recently enacted limits on welfare benefits for legal immigrants, which Republicans supported. And too many Republicans have been quick to fan the nativist flames, blaming immigrants for taking American jobs and increasing crime.

Though the vast majority of Hispanic voters were born here, and though many of them share concerns about illegal immigration, they fear that increasing antipathy toward newcomers may reflect anti-

(*Continued on page 84*)

GOP Wizards Miss the Point on Immigration

by Samuel Francis

Somewhere over the rainbow, the wizards of the Republican party are gathering to ponder the real meaning of the 1996 election, and as usually happens in the Republican zone of Rainbow Land, the wizards have managed to miss the point completely. Last week, at least two wizards came up with exactly the wrong lessons for the GOP to follow on immigration reform.

Wizard Number One, Linda Chavez, chimed in with a column in *The New York Times* arguing that the party ought to shuck any inclinations it harbors of restricting immigration and "resist those who want to continue the fight to cut back legal immigration." But of course Miss Chavez is always arguing for more immigration and less opposition to it.

Miss Chavez is sort of the Stupid Party's Chiquita Banana, the token Hispanic female whose job it is to be splashed across Republican billboards to prove the party is not as backward and benighted as its foes claim. When Miss Chavez says she's for more immigration, that's like Bob Dornan saying he's for more bombers.

Then there was Wizard

(*Continued on page 84*)

Linda Chavez is president of the Center for Equal Opportunity. This op-ed was published in The New York Times *on November 18, 1996 and is reprinted by permission.*

Samuel Francis, with a Ph.D. in history from the University of North Carolina, is a nationally syndicated columnist. This article is reprinted by permission of Tribune Media Services. © 1996.

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Hispanic bias. Nearly two-thirds of Hispanics say they believe that "much of the anti-immigrant sentiment and immigrant-bashing unfairly focuses on Mexican immigrants," according to a recent poll by the liberal Southwest Voter Education Project, based in Texas.

Many Hispanic voters in California are still angry about the divisive 1994 gubernatorial campaign in which Republican Gov. Pete Wilson resorted to demagoguery on the immigration issue.

Republicans may not win a majority of Hispanic votes anytime soon, but they could recapture the numbers who supported Ronald Reagan but abandoned Bob Dole.

A recent national study of more than 4,800 Hispanic adults conducted by researchers at the City University of New York identified a generation gap in party preference that should encourage Republicans. Although Hispanics in general were much more likely to consider themselves Democrats than Republicans, those in younger age groups, particularly those 18 to 24 years old, showed far less loyalty to Democrats.

Support for the GOP was stronger among better-educated and higher-income Hispanics. As Hispanics continue to move into the socio-economic mainstream, more of them may gravitate toward the GOP and its philosophy — provided that the party doesn't push them away.

"Republican congressional leaders would do well to resist those who want to continue the fight to cut back legal immigration."

For starters, Republican congressional leaders would do well to resist those who want to continue the fight to cut back legal immigration.

And rather than focusing so much rhetoric on making English the official language of the United States, Republicans should support efforts to teach English to new immigrants and their children. What bilingual education programs need is not less money but more emphasis on teaching English, which Hispanic parents overwhelmingly support.

Republicans could also become more involved in helping immigrants become citizens, taking an active role in citizenship education classes or volunteering to teach civics and English. Republican officeholders could speak at citizenship ceremonies, praising immigrants for their desire to become Americans.

The GOP cannot afford to cede Hispanic support to the Democrats. Orange County, California, proved to be vulnerable this year, and in Florida and Arizona Hispanics helped tip the state results in the presidential race. This should convince Republican leaders that it's time to mend some fences with Hispanic voters. TSC

Francis, continued

Number Two, Paul Gigot of *The Wall Street Journal*, who also argues that the Republicans need to purge themselves of any proclivities to restrict immigration. Yet Mr. Gigot, like the wise and lovely Miss Banana, has been arguing this position for years.

But what makes their arguments a bit more noticeable these days is that they're right that the Republicans lost the Hispanic vote by a larger margin than ever. The loss, they argue, is due to Republican opposition to immigration. Therefore, pronounce the wizards in triumph, the Republicans ought to give up their flirtation with restricting immigration.

Both Miss Chavez and Mr. Gigot are of the neo-conservative persuasion, however, and the logic of their argument is typical of the neo-con mind. By the same logic one could argue that the Republicans should never have opposed labor unions, or welfare, or affirmative action and quotas, or Big Government at all, because those positions antagonized various constituencies that were

(*Continued on next page*)

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Francis, continued

then lost to their rivals.

This, of course, is what is always wrong with neo-con logic, and if you follow it, you invariably wind up back in the liberal wing of the Democratic party, which is where most neo-cons started out from.

"Republicans need to end immigration by arousing a new middle American majority against it..."

In regard to immigration and the Hispanic vote, the logic is especially fallacious. In the first place, the Republicans as a whole have not opposed immigration very noticeably. Neither Bob Dole nor Jack Kemp was known for efforts to restrict immigration at all, and Mr. Kemp even went out of his way to oppose California's Proposition 187 in 1994.

As Housing Secretary under President Bush, Kemp even refused to enforce federal laws against illegal immigration, and only in the last weeks of the campaign this year did he and Dole dwell on illegal immigration. As for Bob Dornan, whose defeat by Hispanic voters Mr. Gigot cites as proof of his argument, he too was an outspoken foe of restricting legal immigration.

So a candidate's position on immigration, pro or con, has nothing to with whether Hispanics voted for him or not. What does have something to do with it is the rising racial solidarity that Hispanics are beginning to forge and the political punch into which that solidartity is translated.

Support for restricting immigration does not mean antagonism for Hispanics, but that's how race-conscious Hispanics are seeing it. They see it that way because their racial consciousness leads them to identify with immigrants, not with the nation of which they have legally become part.

Moreover, it's not just immigration that leads them to desert the GOP; it's also Republican positions on other issues, like ending welfare for illegal immigrants and abolishing affirmative action programs from which Hispanics now gain. In other words, the racially conscious Hispanic minority has now learned to play minority politics, and insofar as the Republican party as a conservative party won't play that game, Hispanics won't vote Republican any more than other groups that play it.

The leftward political drift of Hispanics was predictable long before this election. Indeed, I have been predicting it for some years, and so did, among others, author and conservative journalist Peter Brimelow in his 1995 book, *Alien Nation.* "Current immigration policy," he wrote, "is inexorably reinforcing Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition."

Which brings us back over the rainbow where we started. Under the rainbow, in the real world as opposed to fantasies of wizards like Miss Chavez and Mr. Gigot, the Republicans need to end immigration by arousing a new middle American majority against it before they either turn themselves into liberal Democrats by pursuing flawed neo-con logic or permit uncontrolled immigration to destroy their chances of ever winning again. TSC

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Election Point and Counterpoint Number Two

An Anti-immigration Reckoning?

by Paul A. Gigot

Two years ago a few of us right-wing free-market eccentrics argued that shouting about immigrants might give Republicans a short-term edge but would backfire in the long run. It looks like the long run is shorter than even we thought.

At least the Pat Buchanan-National Review-California Governor Pete Wilson wing of the GOP has some explaining to do amid the political wreckage of 1996. Hispanic voters moved sharply toward the Democrats this year, and a backlash against the GOP's immigrant-bashing seems the likeliest reason.

The yawning Hispanic gap is the most alarming news for Republicans this year. Ronald Reagan used to get one of every three Hispanic votes, but Bob Dole won only one out of four. President Clinton increased his margin this year among Hispanic voters by 15 percentage points over 1992, to a 51-point chasm. Only Asian Americans swung harder (by 19 percentage points to a mere five-point Clinton deficit), according to exit polls.

If Republicans want a reason to worry, they can anticipate the fast-growing Hispanic population voting Democratic

(*Continued on page 87*)

Right-Wing Immigrationists

by Scott McConnell

What's the point now, anyway? Their illegal immigration bill is already on the books, as if it will do any good."

So wrote *Wall Street Journal* columnist Paul Gigot, warning congressional Republicans against revisiting last year's aborted effort to reform legal immigration. Some days earlier former Reagan aide Linda Chavez had delivered the identical message on the *New York Times* op ed page.

For those who didn't save the clips, I'll summarize. The election returns have spoken; Hispanics voted heavily Democratic in Texas, Florida and California, defeating even Bob Dornan in Orange County. Because Hispanics are going to be entering the United States in huge numbers for the foreseeable future, it would be political suicide for Republicans to do anything that might displease them. Legislation that would limit future Hispanic immigration would be particularly stupid; but so would attempts to mandate the use of English in government business, or excessively literal efforts to enforce the nation's existing immigration statutes.

And though Chavez and Gigot don't say so, if Hispanic activists are to be believed, attempts to roll back racial preference schemes are also a bad idea.

To support his point, Gigot notes that the sunny-disposi-

(*Continued on page 88*)

***Paul Gigot** is a columnist with* The Wall Street Journal. *This column appeared in their November 22, 1996 edition and is reprinted by permission.* *© 1996 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All rights reserved.*

***Scott McConnell** is a columnist with the* New York Post. *This article is reprinted by permission from their December 4, 1996 edition.*

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Gigot continued

the way blacks do now, by more than 80 percent. If that happens, Republicans could win 60 percent of the white vote and still lose elections. White men can't jump into power by themselves.

Anyone who doubts this math should consult Bob Dornan. He lost his Orange County, California, House seat to Loretta Sanchez, a former Republican, on a surge of Latino voters. A wacky "B-1 Bob" exception? Sorry, the GOP also lost two nearby state assembly districts (and their assembly majority) where Hispanics made a difference. Who would have thought Pat Buchanan would help end Bob Dornan's career?

Immigration explains the Hispanic shift in 1996 better than anything else. A lousy Dole campaign didn't help, but GOP House candidates nationwide also saw a drop in the Hispanic vote (to 27 percent from 39 percent). Some blame the California Civil Rights Initiative, except that one of three Hispanics voted for CCRI. It's highly unlikely that Hispanic- and Asian-Americans suddenly became born-again liberals. Both groups are culturally conservative enough to make them natural Republicans.

The sharp Hispanic turn in just two years suggests a backlash against both the 1994 fight over California's Proposition 187 and Congress' crusade to limit all immigration. While Gov. Wilson has always been careful to distinguish between legal and illegal immigrants, many in Congress no longer are. Who can blame Hispanics for picking up bad political vibes? "Even when Latinos agree with us philosophically, they think we don't want them," says Allan Hoffenblum, a GOP consultant in California.

A similar view comes from across the country in Florida, where Republicans lost support even among usually loyal Cuban-Americans. Dario Moreno, a professor at Florida International University who follows Cuban voting in Dade County, says the GOP presidential vote fell to just 60% this year, from 72% in 1992 and 85% in 1988.

Mr. Moreno credits Mr. Clinton's skill in signing GOP anti-Fidel Castro legislation. But he adds that, "Republicans were viewed as being anti-immigrant and eroded Dole's support." It's no accident that two of the few Republicans who opposed their party's immigration bill last year were both Cuban-American House members from South Florida.

"Republican candidates who are right on immigration, like Jeb Bush, can still count on the Cuban vote," says Mr. Moreno, a Cuban-American and a Republican himself. That's also true in Texas, where GOP Gov. George W. Bush has opposed the GOP's harsher anti-immigrant stands and does better among Hispanics.

So maybe it's time for Republicans to re-think their lurch back toward 1920s nativism. What's the point now anyway? Their illegal immigration bill is already on the books, as if it will do any good. But to do more on that front requires harassing U.S. employers to become immigration police — Ted Kennedy's agenda.

As for reducing legal immigration, the politics go from dumb to dumber. "It's very important for the Republican party to continue to stand up for legal immigrants, or there could be fallout in other ethnic communities, such as East Europeans, in the Midwest and Northeast," says GOP Senator Spence Abraham of Michigan. Mr. Abraham led the successful fight last year to split off legal immigration limits from anti-illegal enforcement, a move that played well in his multi-ethnic state.

The GOP conservative also points out that younger immigrants help compensate for an otherwise aging U.S. population. And as historian David Kennedy reports in *The Atlantic Monthly*, immigration has costs, yet the current level is proportionally only half what America absorbed so well in the early part of this century.

Of course, the Republicans of that era also chose to become the anti-immigrant party, and those Italian, Irish and other new citizens understandably enlisted in FDR's 50-year Democratic majority. Maybe that's a lesson for Republicans bent on driving today's fastest-growing voter group into the arms of the their enemies. TSC

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McConnell continued

tioned Ronald Reagan (who never gave a serious thought to immigration issues) used to win a robust one-third of the Latino vote, while the dour Bob Dole won barely a quarter of it. If this electoral calculus is meant to persuade Republicans that the entry of tens of millions of additional impoverished Hispanics into this country in the coming decades is meant to improve their electoral prospects, it fails to convince me.

Gigot assures us that this "fast-growing" Latino population is "culturally conservative." This phrase (and its companion, "socially conservative") is deployed frequently by immigrationist Republicans when referring to Latinos or Chicanos. But it always leaves me mystified. Conservative compared to whom? Does it mean that Latino gang members harass homosexuals? That Hispanic culture frowns on the education of women? That (we are probably closer to the mark here) illegal alien workers are docile and uncomplaining?

If it means (as some sociologists assert) that Hispanic immigrants bear the cultural imprint of societies marked by intense class stratification and limited social mobility; that they are accustomed to governments and legal systems plagued by systematic corruption; and that a cultural pattern of "familialism" tends to encourage intense distrust of those outside the family group, then it's hardly obvious that this is "cultural conservatism" the United States needs more of.

To approach the issue on a more mundane level, it is not true, for instance, that Hispanics are less likely to have children out of wedlock than the average native-born Americans. Nor does it seem to be the case that Hispanics are more likely to prefer being judged on individual merit than to seek advancement through discriminatory quotas.

Surveys of Hispanic opinion leaders during the 1980s demonstrated almost unanimous support for racial preferences. Hispanic voters in California voted against the California Civil Rights Initiative by margins better than 2 to 1. (Ask a conservative immigrationist about the implications of this figure for the future, and he will mutter something about intermarriage and then point hopefully to the Asian vote: After all, "only" 55 percent of California's Asian voters chose to maintain the state's anti-white, anti-Anglo preferences.)

In the face of such electoral results, the burden falls on the *Wall Street Journal*'s open-borders conservatives to explain why it is in the GOP's interest — or the nation's — to expand America's Hispanic population dramatically through mass immigration.

I don't doubt for a moment that if immigration were effectively slowed for a while, and if the barrios of Texas and Los Angeles were not continuously replenished by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of new, desperately poor, Hispanic immigrants every year, an Americanization process would take over, and that this generally hard-working population would advance rapidly in our society. (In no small part because unskilled workers would face a more favorable labor market.)

After a generation or so, Hispanic voting patterns *would* become more Republican (as those of Italians did in the 1950s and 1960s).

Gigot finishes by warning that if the Republicans succeed in reducing immigration, they will meet the fate of the 1920s-era GOP restrictionists — squashed by FDR's immigration-based New Deal coalition. "Maybe," he cautions, "that's a lesson for Republicans bent on driving today's fastest-growing voter group into the arms of their enemies."

Putting aside the fact that immigration restriction in the 1920s was possible only because of forceful Democratic and labor-union support (Sam Gompers was an avid restrictionist), this sort of thing really makes me feel that my Republicanism is lukewarm compared to Gigot's Try as I might, I can't think of Franklin Roosevelt, or Harry Truman, or John F. Kennedy as an "enemy." Indeed, I would prefer to be governed by any one of them than by any Latino head of state, even a "culturally conservative" one.

Who, after all, are some exemplars of the Latin

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American right-wing tradition — the type of political leadership in store for our grandchildren if we follow Gigot's advice. Might they resemble Anastasio Somoza, late of Nicaragua, before he was overthrown by the Sandinistas? Or Fulgencio Batista, the former Cuban dictator, thrown out by the far more noxious Fidel Castro? Or Roberto D'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran strongman and reputed deathsquad organizer (very tough on labor unions, I am assured)? Perhaps there is an attractive "culturally conservative" Mexican dictator (sorry, I mean Mexican "president") whom I am forgetting.

No, it doesn't work. Though I scour my library for examples of "culturally conservative" Latino politicians to admire, I can't find one whom I prefer to Harry Truman. Maybe that's a definition of nativism for the '90s. TSC

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Election Point and Counterpoint Number Three

Dornan Gets Religion via Voter Fraud

by Robert Dornan

[*In a letter to the editors of* The Wall Street Journal *printed in their December 13, 1996 issue, Representative Robert Dornan (R-CA) said in part:*]

I find phony the chorus of voices claiming that I am not a cheerful loser. Every fair person understands my justifiable concern about voter fraud. I ran 5,000 votes ahead of Bob Dole and may have had as many as 5,000 illegal registrants voting by "absentee walk-in" ballot on Election Day. I already have sworn affidavits covering six different types of voter cheating. And I've learned in only the past week of three more ways to destroy the integrity of the electoral process. The Office of Voter Fraud in the California secretary of state's office, in addition to the district attorney's office in Orange County, is investigating and taking depositions.

[*Editor's note: On January 14, Judge James Brooks of Central Orange County Municipal Court executed a search warrant for the offices of Hermandad Mexicana Nacional in Santa Ana.*]

It's very sad that you would join the gaggle of media geese so giddy at reporting on the defeat-of-Dornan-at-any-cost. The cost, of course, is damage

(*Continued on page 91*)

Immigration Wake-up Call

by Samuel Francis

If it's the future of the Republican party you're thinking about, consider the sad case of Rep. Bob Dornan, also known as "B-1 Bob," "Mad Dog Dornan," and even less complimentary epithets. After you've considered his case, you can start worrying, which is what Mr. Dornan has been doing ever since election day and for some months prior to it.

Mr. Dornan is famous for his my-fist-meets-your-lip brand of conservatism. An outspoken foe of abortion and a friend of just about anything that flies and drops bombs, Mr. Dornan, like so many Republicans these days, is also a big booster of immigration. Nevertheless, immigration is exactly the reason he and other Republicans need to worry.

When the votes came in on election day, lo, Mr. Dornan's name barely led that of his opponent in the race for California's 46th District, which B-1 Bob has piloted ever since 1977, with the exception of a one-term gap from 1982-1984. A very large part of his problem derives from the fact that about 50 percent of the voters in the 46th District, in the state's legendarily conservative Orange County, are Hispanic. This week his opponent was claiming the final victory, though Mr. Dornan, still in orbit, refused to concede.

His opponent was the 36-year-old Loretta Sanchez, who had previously run under her married name of Brixey. This year she discovered that dwelling on her Mexican background (she's the daughter of immigrants) by using

(*Continued on page 91*)

__Robert Dornan__ is the former Republican Representative of California's 46th District.
__Samuel Francis__ is a nationally syndicated columnist. This article is reprinted by permission of Tribune Media Services. © 1996.

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Dornan continued

to our democratic process. If I'm fraudulently replaced in Congress, a continuing investigation will bring out that for the first time in U.S. history a member of the House or Senate was voted out of office by feloniously registered people, some of whom were felons recently naturalized in violation of INS laws during Clinton's "Citizenship U.S.A." extravaganza. If we don't investigate, who's next? And how many freshmen orchallengers have the resources to overcome a horribly fraudulent registration system? We must restore the integrity of registration laws as well as common sense voting laws — and enforce them.

But why should we be surprised by the indifference and, in many cases, the downright glee over Mr. Clinton's second term and over the Dornan recount. Only 46% of our citizens even bothered to register and vote, and 23% of them,knowing all about the illegalities and immoralities surrounding the triple draft-dodger in the White House, still re-elected Mr. Clinton. I assume Clinton voters feel that non-citizen voting is no big deal.

Well, most Americans are outraged by the crime of being paid to vote, and the use of dead voters, felon voters, non-existent (phantom) voters and numerous other examples of election fraud.

TSC

Francis continued

her Hispanic maiden name helped her out. Alas, Mr. Dornan's own enthusiasm for immigration didn't help him one little bit.

Indeed, so enthusiastic has he been for immigration that earlier this year he expatiated on one of his favorite themes. "I want to see America stay a nation of immigrants," he intoned (it's rare that Mr. Dornan does not intone). "And if we lose our Northern European stock — your coloring and mine, blue eyes and fair hair — tough!" Apparently a good many of his constituents took him literally and decided that losing B-1 Bob's coloring wouldn't be so bad if Bob himself vanished along with it.

But Mr. Dornan is not the only Republican who has a Hispanic problem, whatever its coloring. Exit polls show that nationally, President Clinton walked off with no less than 72 percent of the Hispanic vote, a rather larger portion of it than the Democrats have ever won, and 75 percent or more in California itself. This week *The New York Times* in a front page article analyzed the results of the ethnic avalanche for the future of the GOP, and it's a future that doesn't work.

Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, for all their catering to legal immigration and non-white voters, managed to lose Florida and Arizona. The latter state went to the Democrats for the first time since 1948, while the Republicans lost the Sunshine State for the first time in two decades. Large battalions of Hispanic voters were mainly responsible. In California's Orange County, which the Republican presidential candidate usually has to win heavily if he is going to carry the rest of the state which now supports a 40 percent Hispanic population, Mr. Dole won only a fraction of what GOP nominees usually win. As a result, the state went to Mr. Clinton.

Nationwide, Hispanic voters now account for about 5 percent of the voting population, though in California they're nearly 15 percent. Those portions will increase as immigration continues, and border states won't be the only ones affected.

"Nationwide, Hispanic voters now account for about 5 percent of the voting population, though in California they're nearly 15 percent. Those portions will increase as immigration continues..."

As *The Times* reports, "In many states — Connecticut, Nevada, Wyoming, Indiana and New York, to name a few — as well as in any number of cities, towns and counties, heavy Hispanic voting

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helped dozens of Hispanic candidates win election, or, in many cases, re-election, to legislatures, councils, committees and boards."

This is not an accident. It's the result of intensive mobilization of the Hispanic vote along strict ethnic lines, and the organizers are quite frank about what they're up to. "The Republicans once could compete for our vote," says Antonio Gonzalez, president of the Southwest Voters Research Institute, "but now it's clear they're facing a powerful and united bloc of opposition from us."

Analysts say the reason for Hispanic dislike of Republicans comes mainly from the party's opposition to immigration, though for 20 years Republicans have done nothing to stop or slow immigration, and stalwarts like Bob Dole, Jack Kemp and William Bennett, not to mention Blue-eyed Bob, have been vocal in booming unrestricted immigration at every opportunity.

Soon the Stupid Party will pay the full price of its folly in not stopping immigration long ago, and if that price includes bidding *hasta la vista* to Republican office holders of Northern European stock like Bob Dornan, that — to quote Old Blue Eyes himself — is tough. TSC

GOP Strategy 2000

Chavez and Gigot do not have it right

by Lawrence Auster

Linda Chavez' and Paul Gigot's argument that the Republicans must embrace open immigration in order to attract present and future generations of Hispanics to the GOP contains two deeply offensive premises. The first is that a major political party should base its immigration policy, not on how best to serve the country as a whole, but on how best to engorge its own ranks with grateful immigrant voters. The second is that the United States should tailor its immigration laws to the desires of people who have not yet arrived in this country (and who in many cases have not even been born).

Apart from being morally objectionable, the immigrants-for-votes tactic fails even on its own terms. According to Gigot and Chavez, if the Republican party continues its (so far mostly symbolic and unserious) efforts to reform immigration, then it can expect to get no more than a quarter of the Hispanic vote. But if, as Chavez and Gigot urge it to do, the Republican party ceases all further attempts to reform or reduce immigration, then they figure Republicans might get a third of the Hispanic vote, approaching the previous high-water mark of the 1984 Reagan landslide. *Either way, the Democrats will continue to receive an overwhelming majority of the Hispanic vote,* a painfully obvious point that these two wizards seem to have missed. What this means is that the more Hispanics (and other Third World people) there are in the U.S., the greater the Democratic party's electoral advantage will become. As usual the Republicans have chosen a strategy, not of confrontation in the hope of victory, but of appeasement in the hope of limiting (slightly) their losses.

To get an idea of what victory might look like compared to the surrender advocated by Chavez and Gigot, let us imagine two strikingly contrasting scenarios. In the first scenario, Republicans follow Chavez' and Gigot's sage advice and make absolutely no further efforts to control legal or illegal immigration, which thus continues unabated and even increases. Over the next half century, Hispanics swell their share of the U.S. population from the current ten percent to 25 percent in the year 2050. As a reward for doing nothing to retard immigration and the resulting explosion in the U.S. Hispanic

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population, the Republicans receive a whopping 33 percent of the Hispanic vote. Meanwhile (though it doesn't seem to matter much to Chavez and Gigot), the American nation as we know it will have been destroyed by the huge influx of unassimilable immigrant populations.

"...both the Republican party and America as a whole would have been in vastly better shape today if the door of Third World chain migration had not been opened in 1965, when the Hispanic share of the U.S. population was only two percent."

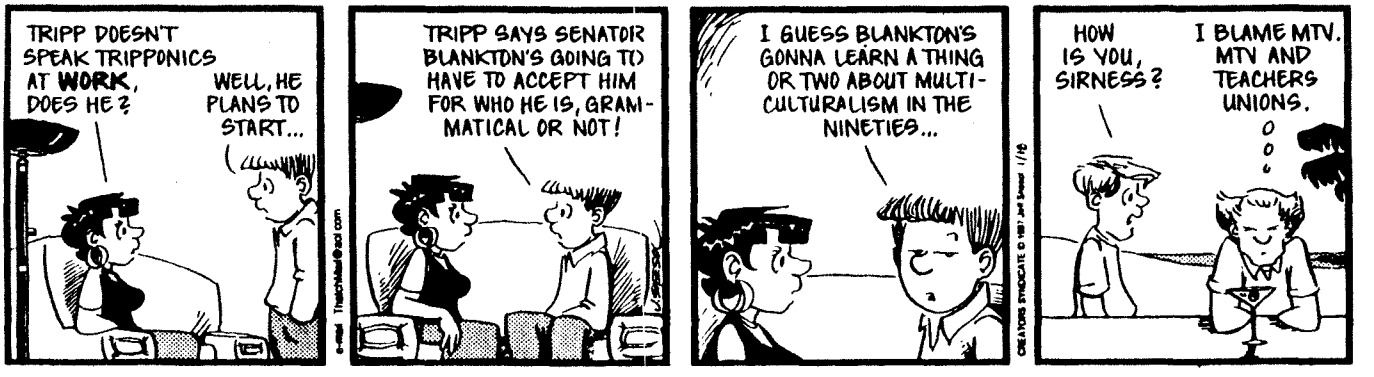
In the second scenario, a radically restrictionist Republican party gains control of the Congress in 1998 and the presidency in 2000, stops virtually all immigration, and deports hundreds of thousands or even millions of illegal aliens (whose descendants would otherwise become voting citizens). This radically conservative Congress also eliminates affirmative action, restricts welfare, and ends all government subsidization of illegitimate births. As a result of these profound changes in immigration and social policy (combined with a gradual equalization of fertility rates between Hispanics and other groups), the Hispanic share of the population over the coming decades remains at about ten percent. To make the contrast with the first scenario even more stark, let us imagine that in anger at the "racist, nativist" Republican party, Hispanics give not just 75 percent of their votes to the Democratic party, as at present, but 100 percent, thus confirming Chavez' and Gigot's worst fears.

Yet even with zero Hispanic votes going to the GOP, the advantage of the second, restrictionist, scenario for Republicans should be obvious. In the first scenario, Democrats in the next century will get 67 percent of the votes of the 25 percent of the population that is Hispanic, or 16.7 percent of the national total. In the second scenario, Democrats will get 100 percent of the votes of the 10 percent of the population that is Hispanic, or only 10 percent of the national total.

In other words, even in terms of Chavez' and Gigot's crassly partisan diagnosis, the Republicans' long-term prospects will be vastly improved if all Hispanic and other Third World immigration were stopped immediately. At the same time (though it doesn't seem to matter much to Chavez and Gigot), the American nation will have been saved.

Applying the same analysis to recent immigration, we might add that both the Republican party and America as a whole would have been in vastly better shape *today* if the door of Third-World chain migration had not been opened in 1965, when the Hispanic share of the U. S. population was only *two percent.* TSC

THATCH


TRIPP DOESN'T SPEAK TRIPPONICS AT WORK, DOES HE?
WELL, HE PLANS TO START...
TRIPP SAYS SENATOR BLANKTON'S GOING TO HAVE TO ACCEPT HIM FOR WHO HE IS, GRAMMATICAL OR NOT!
I GUESS BLANKTON'S GONNA LEARN A THING OR TWO ABOUT MULTICULTURALISM IN THE NINETIES...
HOW IS YOU, SIRNESS?
I BLAME MTV. MTV AND TEACHERS UNIONS.

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Too Close to Call

by Karen Saranita

On the evening of November 4, television stations in four states ran stories based on the work of The Fair Elections Group. In Dallas, a television reporter registered animals at the zoo to vote. Captain James T. Kirk, of the *Starship Enterprise,* was among the registered voters in Tampa, along with a few housepets of station employees. A reporter in Colorado registered multiple times by using variations of her own name. And in California, a reporter asked an incumbent congressman from Orange County and his opponent if they thought their race could be tainted by voter fraud. The congressman replied that, considering the lack of security in the election process, fraud was a very real possibility. His opponent had no such worries; she said there was no fraud in the system.

The candidates did not know that just hours before the interview, the reporter had received an analysis of Orange County's list of registered voters completed by The Fair Elections Group. The Group's analysis had identified over 12,000 duplicate registrations. Not surprisingly, the duplicate registrations are disproportionately high in that hotly contested congressional race. Many of the people who were registered twice had requested an absentee ballot for each of their registrations, but this still allows for a second vote at the polls. The more creative voters registered at two different addresses, but some had both absentee ballots sent to the same post office box. We also found that a very successful registration drive had been conducted in the district. In one precinct over 400 voters were registered on October 7, and 392 of these new voters requested an absentee ballot on the same day.

As anyone who has read a newspaper knows, Bob Dornan lost this congressional seat by less than 1,000 votes. And within the 46th Congressional District is a part of California's 69th Assembly District, where Republican incumbent Jim Morrissey held his seat by only 92 votes.

We turned the report over to California Secretary of State Bill Jones. His office began working the very next day to determine if any of the duplicate registrations had resulted in people casting more than one ballot. However, despite his swift action, it will take weeks for his investigators to work through the lists we gave them.

With only 10 seats separating the majority from the minority in the House of Representatives, both Newt Gingrich and Dick Gephardt should be concerned about what we have found in this one Orange County district. At least 15 members of the 105th Congress, 2 of them in California, won their races by less than one percent of the vote. And in the Senate there were also razor-thin margins of victory. Less than 6,000 votes separated the major candidates in Louisiana. In Georgia, South Dakota, and Oregon the winner of the Senate race was not known until days after the election, when the late absentee ballots had all been counted.

"Congress must reform the National Voter Registration Act and restore common sense security..."

Congress must reform the National Voter Registration Act and restore some common-sense security to our election system. With races decided by margins of 0.2 percent, and control of Congress determined by only 10 seats, we have the right to know that only eligible voters are voting and that they are casting only one vote each. TSC

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How the '96 Immigration Bill Became Law

The inside story

by John B. Judis

We have entered the biannual interregnum, after campaigning ends but before real governing begins, when talk of bipartisanship fills Washington. This year the talk is even more earnest than usual, because pundits believe the waning days of the last Congress — when the GOP passed and Bill Clinton signed legislation on welfare, health care, the minimum wage and immigration — provide a solid record of achievement on which Clinton and the new Republican Congress can build. But the general sunniness regarding the last Congress's achievements is undeserved. In theory, bipartisanship is supposed to make good law by eliminating extremism on both sides and building a consensus in the middle. In practice, the legislation it produced this summer appeared to make significant changes, but actually protected and reinforced the worst aspects of the status quo.

The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill was not a victory for those unable to transfer their health care when they switch or lose jobs, but for the insurance companies that don't want to, and still won't have to, cover them. It's all in the fine print: if you have a pre-existing condition, an insurance company can get out of offering you a policy — either by pushing its rates prohibitively high or by shunting you off to dilapidated, state-run high-risk pools. The minimum wage bill did raise wages for several million poor workers, but it also contained egregious giveaways to life insurance companies, multinationals, newspaper chains and investment banks.

> The story of how the immigration bill became law, and what sort of law it became, shows how diverse and powerful the various factions are that lobby on its behalf. Those players will be mostly the same ones in 1997.

The story of how the immigration bill became law, and what sort of law it became, offers perhaps the definitive case study of the bitter fruits of bipartisanship. And it is worth a little study; the politically potent combination that came together in the 104th Congress to produce an immigration bill — a Republican Congress beholden to business lobbies and a White House eager to score transient political victories — will likely produce more celebrated bad legislation in the 105th. The immigration bill initially followed a script that had led to success with Social Security: a bipartisan commission issued recommendations for legislation, which congressional committees translated into bills. But these bills were taken apart by powerful lobbying coalitions. In the end, liberals and conservatives did salvage a bill. But it was one fundamentally different from, and much worse than, the law originally proposed.

Major immigration legislation had already been passed in 1986 and 1990. The 1986 bill tried to curb illegal immigration. It increased border surveillance and made it a crime to knowingly hire illegals, while granting amnesty and permanent residence to those already here. But illegal immigration has

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continued largely unabated, and employers, particularly in the clothing industries, continued to take advantage of illegals to produce goods under sweatshop conditions. The 1990 bill increased immigration from 500,000 to 675,000 a year, while decreasing the number of newly emigrated unskilled workers who, studies showed, were depressing wages. In practice, the new law led to much larger increases in immigration — almost a million last year — and it didn't stem the influx of unskilled workers at all.

"...the Inspector General found more than a fifth of the workers were being paid less than the prevailing wage and many were not employed in jobs that qualified as "specialty occupations."

The 1990 law set up a bipartisan Commission on Immigration Reform to monitor its results. In 1994 and 1995, the commission, chaired by the late Representative Barbara Jordan, issued recommendations that addressed the problems the 1986 and 1990 laws had failed to solve. These were its key recommendations:

Numbers: The Jordan Commission recommended that for the next five to eight years the U.S. change its admission rules to give priority to permanent residents who want to bring over their spouses and minor children, so that the backlog of requests for family reunification stemming from the 1986 amnesty would be filled in eight years. To accommodate these requests and stay within the limit of 700,000 a year, the commission proposed eliminating preferences for siblings and adult children. After 2002, when the backlog of requests from 1986 was filled, the U.S. would revert to admitting about 550,000 immigrants a year, approximately the level before 1990. The commission's proposal to give priority to reunifying families meant that permanent residents could begin to live normal lives rather than being simply "guest workers." But the commission didn't offer any justification for reducing the immigration target after 2002 and, more important, for not resuming the preference for siblings and adult children of citizens. That would understandably draw outcries from Asian and Latin American organizations.

Workers: The 1990 bill had created admission slots for 140,000 workers who made a special contribution to the economy. A business wanting to sponsor a skilled worker had to obtain Labor Department certification that it had sought to fill the job at the prevailing wage with an American worker. Businesses quickly discovered myriad ways to get around the regulation, including the simple trick of defining a job so narrowly that only one person could fill it. A study of the program by the Inspector General concluded, "The labor market test is a time-consuming paper shuffle that employers endure to give the appearance of complying with the law." The commission proposed replacing the process of labor certification with the payment of a fee that would go for training American workers.

The 1990 act also permitted 65,000 workers with "specialty occupations" to be admitted and employed for six years under what was called an H-1B visa. The only proviso was that they be paid the prevailing wage. But the Inspector General found more than a fifth of the workers were being paid less than the prevailing wage and many were not employed in jobs that qualified as "specialty occupations" (In 1995, Bay Buchanan, Pat Buchanan's sister, got permission to hire a foreign tutor for her children.) The commission declared that in the future it wanted to find a way either to eliminate temporary workers as a category or to integrate them into the process of immigration, but it didn't make any recommendations in its 1995 report. Into this breach leapt Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. Reich proposed that employers who want to hire H-1Bs should be required to show that they had not first laid off American workers from the same jobs, had tried to recruit American workers and were

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going to pay the prevailing wage or higher.

Illegals: With California attempting unsuccessfully to discourage illegal immigration by denying social services to illegals, the commission called for enforcing the sanctions in the 1986 bill on employers who hire illegal immigrants. It recommended adding Labor Department inspectors and creating a national registry of Social Security numbers that an employer would have to consult to determine whether a worker had a valid number.

Taken together, the commission's recommendations were in the best tradition of American immigration policy — sharply distinguishing legal from illegal immigration, while seeking the prompt assimilation of legal immigrants as citizens. The report was praised by the president and the Republican leadership in Congress. But the effort to subvert the proposals began while the praise was still echoing in the commissioners' ears.

The House immigration subcommittee, chaired by Lamar Smith, and the Senate subcommittee, chaired by Alan Simpson, wouldn't introduce bills until the end of 1995, but, before then, lobbyists, alerted by the friendly reception that the commission's recommendations received, began organizing. Central to this effort was Rick Swartz, who runs a public relations business out of his Washington home. Swartz introduces himself as a former civil rights lawyer and liberal, but he is funded primarily by the political right. His main patrons are Wall Street financier Richard Gilder and his Political Club for Growth, a conservative funding group that helped launch Newt Gingrich's GOPAC and subsidizes a variety of efforts, from the Cato Institute to Empower America.

Swartz got seed money to work on immigration from Gilder and was hired to advise two computer companies, Microsoft and Intel, which feared that Congress, heeding the commission and the Department of Labor, would seek to regulate the hiring of skilled immigrants and temporary workers. (Emissaries from the Jordan Commission had tried to explain to Microsoft that its proposals to replace labor certification with a fee would save it time without costing more money, but the company was dead set against any change.) Swartz set up what he called a "left-right coalition." The groups included the National Rifle Association (NRA) and the American Civil Liberties Union (both of which saw the Jordan Commission's plan for site verification as a federal assault on privacy), the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and high-tech organizations concerned about restrictions on temporary workers and skilled immigrants, the National Federation of Independent Businesses (NFIB) and other small business groups opposed to any infringement on their freedom to hire, and Asian and Latin American immigrant lobbies concerned about the reduction of immigrant quotas.

To help assemble this coalition, and keep its right-wing happy, Swartz turned to Grover Norquist. Norquist, a former College Republican apparatchik and protégé of Lee Atwater, runs a Washington lobby, Americans for Tax Reform, that promotes state anti-tax referenda. But his real forte is in bringing together different branches of the right.

"The effort to subvert the proposals began while the praise was still echoing in the [Jordan] commissioners' ears."

Every Wednesday, representatives from the NRA, the Christian Coalition (Ralph Reed is an old friend of Norquist) and others assemble in Norquist's office to plot strategy. Norquist is also the movement's link to Gingrich, whom he advises. It was Norquist who brought the NRA and other members of the Wednesday Group into Swartz's coalition, which began meeting in the spring of 1995. By last February, Microsoft had also hired Norquist. Although he now denies that he lobbied on immigration for Microsoft, Norquist specifically listed immigration and the House bill on his registration form as areas he would be working on. Norquist says he included them as merely something he might do. "Since I was working on

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those issues, the safe thing to do was to overregister," he says.

The members of the Swartz-Norquist coalition had varying views on immigration, but what drew its leaders together were the theories and policies developed at the Cato Institute, a radical free market think tank in Washington. Stuart Anderson, director of trade and immigration studies, and Stephen Moore, director of fiscal policy studies and a former aide to House Majority Leader Dick Armey, wrote op-eds promoting the coalition's position and closely advised Senator Spencer Abraham and Representatives Sam Brownback and Dick Chrysler, leaders of the congressional opposition to reform.

Swartz's views (at least, as explained to me) are somewhat vague, but Anderson, Moore and Norquist espouse a philosophy of immigration fundamentally different from that of the Jordan Commission. Their view can best be described as business libertarianism. They see the entry of foreign workers into the U.S. as an unmitigated blessing, but, unlike liberal immigration lobbyists, they don't worry about these workers being deprived of benefits or citizenship once they cross the border. Norquist exulted in the denial of welfare benefits to legal immigrants. And the three believe that, instead of trying to stem illegal immigration through site verification, the government should institute a "guest worker" program. Wrote Anderson in an op-ed, "It is clear that a guest worker program would do far more to reduce illegal immigration than would a national registry."

While Swartz and Norquist were organizing their coalition, Simpson and Smith were trying to write bills that would get through Congress. Both men would have been amenable to legislation that mirrored the recommendations of the Jordan Commission, but they thought that, in order to win a majority, they had to appeal boldly at the beginning to the anti-immigrant sentiment among Republicans and the anti-business feelings among liberal Democrats. That turned out to be a fatal error. Instead of bringing together the different wings of Congress, they united the different parts of Swartz's left-right coalition in their determination to kill any bill.

"While Swartz and Norquist were organizing their coalition, Simpson and Smith were trying to write bills that would get through Congress."

To win Democratic support, Simpson added to the commission and Department of Labor's recommendations his own extraordinarily tough provisions on skilled and temporary workers. He proposed that, before a company could hire a foreigner with an advanced degree, the foreigner had to work at least three years outside the U.S. As Intel CEO Andrew Grove later explained, that meant that a computer company could not hire a promising foreign student out of MIT or Cal Tech, a very common practice in the industry. Simpson also proposed charging companies a fee for each temporary worker they hired. These measures brought the fury of NAM and of Microsoft, Intel and Hewlett-Packard down on Simpson's head.

To appeal to Republican "restrictionists," Smith required that immigrants' sponsors have an income that is 200 percent of the poverty level. That would have excluded millions of potential sponsors, particularly among the former illegals granted resident status by the 1986 amnesty. Smith and Simpson also forbade legal immigrants from receiving any government social services, from welfare and Medicaid to legal aid. These measures inflamed the bills' liberal and interest group opponents.

To defeat the bills, Swartz's coalition adopted a strategy, recommended by Moore, of splitting most of the provisions on legal immigration off from those on illegal immigration, so they could be killed. During the fall of 1995, the coalition turned up the pressure on Simpson and Smith. After Jennifer Eisen, a member of Swartz's group, organized a lobbying day for high-tech executives on the Hill, the two Republicans agreed to tone down or eliminate many of

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the provisions directed at temporary workers and skilled immigrants. Under pressure from the NFIB, Smith agreed to make site verification into a voluntary pilot program. But Swartz and Norquist wouldn't relent until they had destroyed any prospect of a bill on legal immigration. And they succeeded. Last March, with Abraham leading the way, the Senate Judiciary Committee defied Simpson and voted 12 to 6 to split the bill. Then, the full House followed suit and voted 238 to 183 to strip out most of Smith's provisions on legal immigrants.

In both the House and Senate, Swartz and Norquist built a coalition of conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats. The Senate was relatively easy. Kennedy and other Democrats, under pressure from ethnic interest groups, believed that by splitting the bill they could gain leverage on Simpson to remove the restrictions on family immigration and on public benefits, while retaining the new regulations on temporary workers and skilled immigrants. They were wrong. After the vote to split, Simpson dropped any effort to pass a separate bill on legal immigration and reinserted many of the noxious restrictions on family reunification into the stripped down immigration bill that finally passed the Senate.

But the House, where many freshmen were sympathetic to Buchanan, was more difficult. With the help of Democrat Howard Berman and other liberals opposed to Smith's restrictions on family immigration, Swartz convinced White House point man Rahm Emanuel to endorse splitting the legislation. That turned undecided Democrats against Smith's bills. And Norquist convinced Ralph Reed to issue a letter, two days before the House vote, denouncing Smith's bill as anti-family. The coalition's letter alone was credited with swaying twenty to twenty-five Republicans.

"Norquist convinced Ralph Reed to issue a letter, two days before the House vote, denouncing Smith's bill as anti-family. The [Christian] Coalition's letter alone was credited with swaying twenty to twenty-five Republicans."

Swartz got Democrats to oppose an imper-fect bill in favor of what would be a very bad bill. To split the legislation, Howard Berman and other Democrats lent their name to a Republican resolution, sponsored by Chrysler and Brownback, that got rid of all the provisions in Smith's bill that affected workers, but that retained the 200 percent requirement for sponsors and the elimination of public benefits for legal immigrants. Kennedy, Berman and the White House would later denounce the bill that emerged from the House-Senate conference, but in those March votes, they laid the groundwork for it.

Norquist then got the Christian Coalition to enter a fray that it had so far assiduously avoided. In September 1994, the coalition had protested the Jordan Commission's proposal for site verification, which it saw as a pretext for a national identity card, but until two days before the House vote, the organization did not participate at all in the debate over the immigration bill. (One Christian right organization, Gary Bauer's Family Research council, even endorsed the Jordan Commission's plan to give priority to family reunification, which was included in Smith's bill.) But on the eve of the final House debate, at a private meeting attended by Gingrich, Norquist convinced Reed to support Chrysler and Brownback's amendment on the specious grounds that it would "keep families together."

In fact, the bill that emerged from the House was not pro-family. It would have postponed the reunification of many immigrant families well into the next century, while admitting instead siblings and adult children of well-to-do immigrants. And, by eliminating access to social services, it reduced even legal immigrants to the status of guest workers and made them liable to pressure and intimidation from employers

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and state authorities.

After the House and Senate passed truncated versions of Smith and Simpson's bills, the two bills went to conference. The Republican leadership barred Democrats from deciding what would go into the combined version. The final result, reported out in September, incorporated the worst from each bill. From the House bill, it took the requirement that sponsors earn 200 percent and a provision denying public education to the children of illegals. At the behest of the business lobbies, it made worksite verification entirely voluntary. It eliminated funds that the House and Senate had authorized for labor inspectors. It inserted a section that weakened a provision in the 1986 bill forbidding employers from discriminating against immigrant workers. It even added a provision that gave employers who knowingly hired illegals a ten-day grace period after they were caught to fire them and thereby avoid fines.

The Democrats and the Clinton administration, backed by the liberal immigrant groups that had lobbied to split the Smith and Simpson bills, took umbrage. At a press conference September 17, Kennedy declared, "This bill will do more harm than good. ...It treats unscrupulous employers with kid gloves, and it treats kids with an iron fist." Clinton also denounced the bill but, unwilling to veto it outright, settled for a few concessions. He got Republicans to drop the measure barring the children of illegals from public school and to reduce the requirement for sponsors from Smith's 200 percent to Simpson's 125 percent. He also convinced Republicans to remove some bans on social services for legal immigrants, but that was beside the point. Clinton had already signed the welfare reform bill which permitted states to deny welfare and Medicaid to legal immigrants. On September 30, Clinton signed the immigration bill into law.

As Clinton begins his second term, and the Republican Congress reconvenes, both Democrats and Republicans are planning new forays into immigration reform. Smith wants to reintroduce his new restrictions on legal immigration, Kennedy wants to bring back the reforms concerning temporary workers and skilled immigrants, and the White House wants to eliminate the restrictions on welfare and Medicaid for legal immigrants. Perhaps Congress will grapple with some of these proposals, and perhaps it will even reach grand bipartisan compromises to reform immigration law further, but given that the cast of characters hasn't changed on Capitol Hill, Pennsylvania Avenue and K Street, the conclusion is likely to be the same. The Clinton administration will congratulate itself for having conquered gridlock, pundits will celebrate the end of partisan pettiness, lobbyists will smile in the shadows, while for immigrants and American workers alike, life will go on pretty much as before.

TSC

Expert Warns Australia of Invasion

One of the world's leading defense experts has warned that Australia is likely to face an attempted invasion during the next century. In its latest publication, *Jane's World* Armies says Australia is a glittering strategic prize."

The forecast from the globally respected military analyst follows the release of a survey earlier this month which shows members of the Howard government believed Australia faced security threats from China and Indonesia.

The editor of *Janes*, Charles Heyman, said Australia had to start preparing now if it was to defend itself. "It takes years to build up proper defense posture but I don't think you have it now," he said from his home in Shropshire, England. "The defense establishment realizes what is going on, but I don't think Australians in general give it a high priority."

In the publication, Mr. Heyman says Australia, which ranks 20th among the world's wealthiest nations, has bright economic prospects. "The country's good fortune also makes it a glittering strategic prize and in the long term it would be surprising if, during the next century, the country's defenses were not tested."

— Australia's *Sunday Herald Sun*, November 24, 1996
Reported by Peter Rees

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'Being There'

The Prime Minister and Pauline

by Denis McCormack

Back in 1988 today's new Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, then leader of the conservative coalition opposition, said in relation to Asian immigrants into Australia: "I do believe that if... in the eyes of some in the community it's too great, it would be in our immediate-term interest and supportive of social cohesion if it were slowed down a little."

He knew that Australia's most respected historian, Professor Geoffrey Blainey, had been hounded from academia in 1984 for saying just that. Howard also knew that public opinion was supportive of him as it was of Blainey. He further chanced his arm against the liberal left-dominated media by heightening the controversy with his follow-through:

> *I don't think it's wrong, racist, immoral or anything for a country to decide what the cultural identity and the cultural destiny of the country will be. ...Just about every self-respecting country does, and I find most extraordinary the argument that says that by talking about these issues we are offending our friends in Asia. That's bunkum.*

With that, his own Liberal Party colleagues deserted in a failure of nerve. He was removed from leadership of the party shortly thereafter and only finally regained the leadership early in 1995 after a series of three lesser leaders had failed — but not before he was forced to issue some very public pseudo-apologies for his '88 comments (none of which, incidentally, contradicted the substance of those comments). With an election coming he was seen, in desperation, as the only politician capable of ridding the country of Labor's Prime Minister Keating along with his integration-with-Asia, Republican, Aboriginal, and flag-changing obsessions. All was forgiven, although astute observers predicted that the Asian immigration debate must resurface. Public opinion polls, along with steady support for Western Australian Member-of-Parliament Graeme Campbell and the organization Australians Against Further Immigration, together have maintained a creditable vote and profile focused on immigration problems which has kept pressure on both sides of the political scene.

Along came the March 1996 Federal election, with Howard back at the helm and well-positioned. The media were calling a photo finish. For the House of Representatives seat of Oxley in the State of Queensland, John Howard's Liberal Party had pre-selected the local fish-and-chip owner, Pauline Hanson, as a token candidate for the strongest Labor-held, theoretically unwinnable, seat in the state. Labor would no doubt have won hands down but for their dirty tricks department getting in the way. They dug out from the local press a letter Hanson had published some time previously in which she expressed popular concerns relating to the vast amount of taxpayer funds being lavished, and often wasted on, Aboriginal welfare. In the heat of the election campaign she was promptly disendorsed by Howard and the Liberal Party in a move to appease the media and the chattering classes. This action drew both national and local attention to her. As a result, the local folk rallied to her defense and she was elected to Federal Parliament as an independent with a massive swing to her at the same time that John Howard became Australia's Prime Minister in a landslide victory.

Graeme Campbell has given Hanson valuable support since her unexpected arrival in Federal Parliament, especially on immigration issues, but the bomb was really dropped in her maiden speech of 10 September 1996. Here are some quotes.

Denis McCormack *is Australian correspondent for* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *and a leading activist for immigration reform in his country. He is co-editor* of Immigration and the Social Contract, *a collection of articles from this journal, published by Avebury (1996, 237 pages, $35.00). It is available from* ***The Social Contract Press****, 1-800-352-4843.*

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I come here, not as a polished politician... My view on issues is based on common sense, and my experience as a mother of four children, as a sole parent, and as a businesswoman running a fish and chip shop. I won the seat of Oxley largely on an issue that has resulted in me being called a racist. That issue related to my comment that Aboriginals received more benefits than non-Aboriginals...

Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of the debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 percent of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos, and do not assimilate.

Of course, I will be called racist, but if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong and united. The world is full of foiled and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia to Africa — and closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price... Abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country.

Immigration must be halted in the short term so that our dole queues are not added to by, in many cases, unskilled immigrants not fluent in the English language. This would be one positive step to rescue many young and older Australians from a predicament which has become a national disgrace and crisis. I must stress at this stage that I do not consider those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia anything but first-class citizens, provided, of course, that they give this country their full, undivided loyalty... We may have only 10 to 15 years left to turn things around. Because of our resources and our position in the world, we will not have a say because neighboring countries such as Japan, with 125 million people; China with 1.2 billion people; India, with 846 million people; Indonesia, with 178 million people; and Malaysia, with 20 million people are well aware of our resources and potential...

There was more in her speech regarding cessation of foreign aid, withdrawal from the UN, etc. and with no mention of environmental concerns, one can imagine that not all those who are concerned about immigration are happy to be lumped together with Hanson in a new orgasmic political push.

The reaction to her maiden speech has been a unique phenomenon. The media in trying to stamp out the flames only managed to spread the fire. There has been front page and lead-item electronic coverage since September. Public outpouring of emotion on talk-back radio has been starkly contrasted with Government, Opposition, and media commentators against her. Asian media are revisiting John Howard's 1988 remarks. Thinly-veiled threats of trade and tourism repercussions have been issued both at home and around the Asian region should we not bow low enough.

"Hanson is now a household name. Folk support for her simplicity and bluntness along with her courage is a fair representation of middle-Australia's deep dissatisfaction with the status quo."

Hanson is now a household name. Folk support for her simplicity and bluntness along with her courage is a fair representation of middle-Australia's deep dissatisfaction with the status quo.

Prime Minister Howard is playing a cool hand under the circumstances. He could see something of this nature coming, and is probably relieved that it formed around an inexperienced newcomer like Hanson who is unfortunately muddying the waters somewhat for Graeme Campbell and his nascent Australia First Party which kicked off only a couple of months before the Hanson affair. Some more Machiavellian observers suspect Hanson has been given the extraordinary coverage in part to obscure Campbell's more thoughtful position, as an intended

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by-product. Soon after forming Government, Howard began to surgically remove key ethnic lobby and immigration industry influences from their cozy positions close to the heart of government. These moves, coupled with a cut of 10,000 to this year's immigration program, the foreshadowing of another cut next year, and a general tightening-up of immigration policy and administration had generally set the tone well before Hanson's maiden speech in September. The 200,000-plus primary votes for Australians Against Further Immigration in the election, along with a spate of anti-immigration opinion polls, certainly encouraged him in these moves. And the media actually praised him for making them.

So why all the fuss about Hanson's speech? There is nothing new in what she had to say. One answer is that the media has mixed motives in affording Hanson the flood of coverage she has received. There are a few key people in the media who want the Asianization issue honestly exposed and debated and they are using Hanson as a lightning rod to that end. It hasn't worked because the intellectuals are still in denial about Asianization and its orchestration. The majority of the media however are using her to dumb down the debate to one about supposed bigotry and racial prejudice rather than national direction, democratic government, and national sovereignty. They suspect Howard's agenda in not directly condemning Hanson. One prominent journalist has recently written that Howard's moves on immigration policy will eventually "approach" AAFI's vote and that "Howard feels vindicated over the concern that he expressed eight years ago." The Prime Minister, while walking the wire, has been championing freedom of speech on immigration. It is under this aegis that he is happy to have Hanson, Campbell, and AAFI do the dirty work in the public domain which allows him to collect the kudos for cutting immigration. Why have a dog and also bark yourself? He cannot and he has not repudiated their views on Asian immigration, for if he does, he repudiates not only the demonstrated majority opinion, but also his own. Howard has come under immense pressure to directly repudiate Hanson on Asian immigration from the media, church leaders, business leaders, the tourism industry, the opposition, and even his own colleagues — still he refuses.

Your correspondent was in the parliament gallery on 30 October when the hastily drafted Bipartisan Statement on Racial Tolerance was passed with great fanfare in the hope of hosing down the issue both at home and abroad. Campbell was the only speaker against the motion. Pauline Hanson was absent from Parliament. On that occasion, the statement was a predictable regurgitation of all the time-worn, generalized, formulaic, feel-good, motherhood incantations and mantras which have been force-fed to the unmoved mainstream for the last 20 years. It did nothing to address the underlying issue of unpopular levels of Asian immigration. All diplomatic posts, trade missions and universities touting for business in Asia have been given the Statement in order to placate their prospective clients.

"Howard has come under immense pressure to directly repudiate Hanson on Asian immigration from media, church leaders, business leaders, the tourism industry, the opposition, and even his own colleagues — still he refuses."

The media are only now winding down the Hanson mania, or should I say phobia. There is a gradual dawning that all this angst has had little to do with Pauline Hanson, the political neophyte from the suburbs, who, through an unlikely chain of events, finds herself "being there" in similar style to Chauncey Gardener/Peter Sellers in the motion picture of that title. It has more to do with an essentially patriotic but naive new Prime Minister who is well aware of what needs to be done on immigration, but who has yet to realize that the rest of the internationalist, deregulationist, bipartisan economic dogma that he has for so long promoted and is now hastily implementing, is unfortunately part of the same suite of nationally corrosive problems to which immigration belongs.

"Being there" is one thing, being in control is entirely another. TSC

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Australian Nation-State

Decline and reaction

by Robert Birrell

At one level the Australian experience confirms the predictions of those who believe the nation-state is in terminal decline. Since 1983 when the newly elected federal Labor Government took office we have seen the dismantling of many of Australia's once formidable barriers to external economic influences. These included a tariff regime as high as any in the industrialized world, pervasive state regulation of industrial relations and wage setting and rigorous controls over migration movements.

The dismantling process began with the deregulation of the financial system, including the floating of the Australian dollar in December 1983 and the invitation in 1985 to foreign banks to set up house here. Subsequently, tariff barriers against imports have been sharply reduced, as have constraints on foreign take-overs of Australian enterprises. By the early 1990s the Labor Government was asserting that its mission was to move Australian society down a one-way track toward full economic and cultural integration with the nations of the dynamic Asia-Pacific region.

By 1996 the trend seemed inexorable. Once Australia had been propelled down the globalizing pathway, it followed that further urgent restructuring of the country's institutions and culture was necessary if the experiment was to succeed.

These outcomes do not seem quite so inevitable now. In March 1996 a new federal Coalition government (which combined conservative urban and rural interests) was elected after 13 years of Labor rule. Though the Coalition embraced Labor's free trade objectives, it took a much more cautious line on issues of economic, and particularly, cultural sovereignty — a line which appears to have contributed to its success at the polls.[1] The Coalition's electoral platform included the slogan "one nation." Its leader, Mr. Howard, refused to use the "m" (or multicultural) word during the electoral campaign and has continued with this stance since becoming Prime Minister. This is significant, because for most of Australia's cultural and business elites, multiculturalism had become a symbol of Australia's internationalist economic policies and a parallel rejection of the traditional, more insular Australian ethos.

> Reformers in Australia and Canada, like those in the U.S., are struggling against the perception that their countries are still open for massive immigration. We can learn from their experience.

Once in Government, the Coalition has acted to strengthen some of the nation's borders. It reduced the immigration intake for 1996-97 by 10,000 to 84,000. More significantly it has sought, with some success, to toughen the rules determining family reunion eligibility and to diminish the access of recently arrived migrants to welfare benefits. It has not been able to legislate all its proposals because of opposition in Australia's upper house (the Senate). The Coalition has also distanced itself from the "Asianizing" cultural agenda. Indeed, Mr. Howard announced that political correctness should no longer be allowed to inhibit debate about issues of immigration and multiculturalism. Howard has not been without his detractors on this account. Australia's business and professional elites are split along the conservative-libertarian dimension. We too

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have our "Wall Street Journal" advocates of complete abandonment of any sort of economic and people-movement barriers. But at least when it comes to elites active within conservative politics the libertarians seem less influential than in the USA.

As it has happened, soon after Mr. Howard's invitation to debate the immigration issue, the newly elected Independent Member of the Federal Parliament from Queensland, Pauline Hanson, set alight a huge public debate on immigration. In the course of her maiden speech (10 Sept 1996), Ms. Hanson stated:

> *I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians... They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate.*

Ms. Hanson has been reviled as a racist by media commentators. Mr. Howard too, has been criticized for allegedly opening the gates for persons like Ms. Hanson to express such views. But her opinions appear to have found a wide constituency (not just on the immigration issue but also on her insistence that Aboriginal or indigenous persons should receive the same welfare and other public benefits as other Australians, that is without any reference to racial criteria).

The significance of these developments for the Australian nation-state lies in what they hint about the prospects for the mobilization of popular feeling against further losses of national sovereignty. In the aftermath of Hanson's statements, there have been a number of opinion polls which indicate significant popular support for some of her views. For example, a national poll taken early in November, 1996, registered 53 percent support for the proposition that "The proportion of Asians in our migration intake should be reduced" and 62 percent support for the statement that "There should be a short term freeze in immigration." Ms. Hanson, like another well known Independent, Member-of-Parliament Graeme Campbell, has also indicated her commitment to a broader Australian independence agenda. Again, the evidence is that initiatives reflecting this agenda, like limits to foreign ownership of Australian enterprises and increased industry protection, are supported by majorities of voters.

For most of the period since the early 1980s there was a high degree of elite consensus (replicated in the major political parties) on the globalizing agenda. There was therefore little scope for the mobilization of popular discontent. Since the 1996 Federal election the political situation has changed. Both major political parties are now well aware of the extent of this discontent and its potential to shape the outcomes of future elections. The Labor Party has had to face the fact that, for the first time this century, more blue collar workers voted for the Coalition than for Labor.[2] The political professionals also know that worker disenchantment with the Labor Government's globalizing agenda was an important factor in this swing. As a consequence, the Coalition too, has to be careful, since an aggressive strategy may leave creative opportunities for an opposition politician to tap into voter concerns.

"Both major political parties are now well aware of the extent of [popular] discontent and its potential to shape the outcome of future elections."

Causes of Voter Disenchantment

Dozens of articles have been written recently on the source of voter concerns. The predominant explanation among Australian pundits is that job insecurity is at the root of voter disillusionment and that hostility to migrants and to Asians in particular reflects a desire to find a scapegoat for this insecurity. There is something to the argument, but it is far from a full explanation. The opinion poll data show that opposition to migration is actually higher in country areas and in the peripheral states of Tasmania, South Australia and Queensland (where relatively few recent migrants including Asians have located) than it is in the main migrant settlement areas of Melbourne and Sydney. We also know that disenchantment with migration, multiculturalism and other concerns about loss of national sovereignty were evident well before the 1990s recession led to a sharp increase in unemployment to over 10 per cent (it is still just on nine per cent as of late 1996). The late 1980s was a period of relative prosperity, yet during the years 1988 and 1989, there was a parallel national debate about the immigration issue during which majorities

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of the voters indicated their opposition to Labor's policies of high migration and multiculturalism.

This evidence suggests that there is a more diffuse and broad-ranging unhappiness about the elites' globalizing mission which extends well beyond immediate job losses and resultant migrant scapegoating. The economic consequences of the Labor Government's deregulatory policies have been severe. Large sections of manufacturing industry which relied on tariff protection have been wiped out particularly during the 1990s recession. Also, big chunks of the Federal and State public services (including the education sector) and the public energy and transport authorities — once havens of security — have been downsized, outsourced or otherwise disrupted. Farmers and graziers, who were told they would be beneficiaries of free trade initiatives, have in fact experienced desperately low returns for their products through the 1980s and 1990s. The insecurities aroused extend well beyond the areas of migrant settlement. The migrant presence is not directly related to many of these issues nor is migrant competition for jobs an issue for residents in the "bush" or places like Tasmania.

"There is also much unease about the elite campaign to get Australians to embrace a notion of themselves as a nation of diverse communities oriented toward Asia."

There is also much unease about the elite campaign to get Australians to embrace a notion of themselves as a nation of diverse communities oriented toward Asia. There is controversy among commentators about the strength of Australians' sense of ethnocentrism. Some have argued that, like Canadians, we have a weak sense of identity. This is disputable. One piece of evidence indicating a desire to maintain the older, more insular ethos, is the strong popular response to imagery evoking additional nationalist symbols. During the 1980s we also saw an upsurge in the national film and TV industry in which films like "Crocodile Dundee" and "The Man from Snowy River" received a rapturous response from ordinary people. This material was criticized by critics as "Gumnut nationalism" and as unrepresentative of the new Australian cultural diversity. But the enthusiastic popular response and the parallel high ratings for Australian produced "soaps," even when in direct competition with Hollywood TV products, indicate the wide interest in associating with national images untouched by the multicultural agenda.

The Political Implications of Voter Insecurity

It is only in this broader context that one can appreciate why emigration and multiculturalism have been such contentious issues in Australia. The changes to Australian society wrought by migration and multiculturalism appear to have become potent symbols of the wider impact of the globalizing process. Thus the discomfiture of city and country people. I suspect that many of those who feel threatened by rapid social change also feel that migration and multiculturalism are linked to a larger loss of national "community" and thus the undermining of the Australian state's willingness to defend their interests.

There is good reason to believe these concerns would be particularly potent among Australians. As noted at the outset, Australian history since Federation has been dominated by defensive state policies directed at providing security from foreign influences. Australians have never shone a welcoming beacon to the world's dispossessed. There is no parallel to the "Emma Lazarus" tradition in Australia's migration history. Likewise there is little in Australia's heritage to match the American confidence about taking on the world economically in a global trading free-for-all. Our tradition is one of building industry behind protected walls. Nor is there any similar embrace of competitive individualism in Australia, at least in comparison with the United States. Rather the ideal is more that of an easy-going, balanced lifestyle.

Australian elites have striven valiantly to change this situation in recent times. Australians are being told they must give up their relaxed way of life in the interests of successfully competing against their Asian neighbors. But the defensive heritage is not likely to be quickly discarded, especially given widespread doubts about Australia's capacity to succeed in such a competition. This means that

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there is a growing window of opportunity available for politicians interested in taking advantage of popular anxieties. At the very least, the major parties will be more cautious about pressing the open-ended Asianizing vision in the near future. Though we enter the realm of speculation here, I think it is quite likely that dissenting politicians inside or outside the major parties who take up a more defensive national stance will be rewarded with electoral support. If so, they may well arrest the recent pattern of nation-state attenuation.

For Australians who feel threatened by the globalizing process, the only recourse is to appeal to the protection of the nation-state. If they want decent wage levels relative to blue collar wage rates in Asia, guarantees that Australians rather than foreigners provide the bulk of goods and services to the home market, a welfare safety net, and so on, they have little choice but to appeal to the state (and particularly the Federal nation-state) in the name of the obligations of the national community to their cause. No one imagines the United Nations, or some ill-formed Asia-Pacific "community," will come to their aid.

Just as in Europe, the Hanson phenomenon may portend the rise of a defensive nationalist movement directed at re-erecting national borders. TSC

NOTES

[1] Katharine Betts, "Patriotism, immigration and the 1996 Australian election," *People and Place*, December 1996.

[2] Katharine Betts, "Class and the 1996 Australian election," *People and Place*, December 1996.

[3] Thoughtfully explored in Hans-George Betz, *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994.

The Debate Continues

Is Canadian immigration policy really better?

by Mark Wegierski

In his letter-to-the-editor in the Summer 1996 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Mr. Peter Brimelow, well-known as the author of *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (Random House, 1995) had argued in favor of the *form* of Canadian immigration policy which "selects immigrants who score well on a points system that values skills and speaking the national languages, as well as having relatives in Canada. The U.S. treats 'family reunification' as an absolute, and imperative, right." Mr. Brimelow also referred to the rhetorical use of Canadian immigration policy to counter charges that "any concern about skills or language must be racism."

While such arguments may be theoretically useful in the U.S., one can differ on the practical interpretation of the alleged toughness of Canadian immigration policy. The author would like to refer here to Chapter Five of Kenneth McDonald's *His Pride, Our Fall: Recovering from the Trudeau Revolution* (Key Porter, 1995), where the true import of this "points system" is discussed.

What is often ignored is the fact that the points system applies only to the independent category of immigrants. There is a separate family reunification category, which, until very recently, generously extended to brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, etc. — not just spouses and children under eighteen. As Mr. McDonald writes: "...on December 30, 1987, *The Globe and Mail* [a major Toronto newspaper] reported that Harbhajan Singh Pandori, who came to Canada from the Punjab in July 1970, was himself the magnet for, on his estimate, 'about sixty to seventy family members' who had joined him in Canada." While "independent immigrants had to meet tough government criteria, the others were selected by their relatives. In the *Toronto Star* [the largest-circulation Toronto newspaper] May 26, 1992, Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt was quoted as saying, 'Last year, we selected only 16

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percent of our immigrants. We need a better balance.'"

McDonald then lists about a hundred highly-qualified persons who Canada has seen fit to *reject* as immigrants, under its points system, including the following:

- Petrochemical chief engineer, from Yugoslavia, age 42, married with one child, mother in Canada.
- Craftsman bookbinder, from England, age 38, offered employment, sister in Canada.
- Electrical engineer, from Scotland, age 33, eight years experience in installing X-ray equipment and dialysis machines in hospitals in Scotland, relatives in Canada.
- Commercial photographer, from England, wife of a research assistant, has a daughter born in Vancouver, was successfully employed in Vancouver, extension of work permit refused, family forced to leave Canada.
- Film/video technician, from Scotland, extensive experience with BBC television and other programs as a freelancer, sister in Vancouver.
- Graduate engineer (Ph.D.), from Poland, studied in Canada for five years, fluent English.
- Ph.D. in chemistry, from England, presently working in Ottawa as a research associate, living in Canada now over five years, a single mother, work extension refused.

"It really appears that Canada's refugee policy has the effect of bringing in as many persons as possible from the most dissimilar societies on the planet, who would otherwise have no hope of getting into Canada."

What is particularly striking about this list is that even the presence of some relatives in Canada did not affect the decision of the immigration authorities, pointing to an obvious bias. McDonald concludes: "[s]ince 1982, tens of thousands of independent immigrants have been denied entry to Canada, most of them Britons and Europeans." So it manifestly appears that operation of the points system has served to keep out large numbers of persons of European descent with often very fine qualifications and work-histories, who could have been a real benefit to Canada.

Mr. Brimelow's secondary point is that

> *...Canadian policy permits the inflow to be regulated by administrative action, whereas the U.S. inflow is inflexibly determined by statute. A Reform Party Prime Minister could end immigration to Canada on his first day in office — if he had the guts.*

This passage may lead to some interesting consideration of the differences in the U.S. and Canadian political and constitutional systems. It is true that the combination of legislative and executive power in the House of Commons has led to a virtual dictatorship of the Prime Minister. The fact is that the Prime Ministership is a relatively stronger office in Canadian polity than is the Presidency in the U.S. Noting the successes of President Reagan, facing a largely-Democratic House of Representatives, some Canadian right-wingers complained that they were hobbled by a political system where, by analogy, "Tip O'Neill would now be the President of the United States", i.e. they were arguing that Canada was led by persons of a certain persuasion because of its constitutional arrangements. But it appears that in the Nineties, the pattern might well have reversed in the direction of an (albeit) slim Republican majority in the House of Representatives, combined with a Democratic Presidency. In 1996, Americans typically voted for Clinton as President and for the Republicans as congressional representatives. So today, if America had a Canadian-style system, presumably "Newt Gingrinch would be the President of the United States." The differences between the two systems seem to defy easy analogies.

What should perhaps be asked, in terms of effecting immigration control in the current situation, is: which is the likelier eventuality —

(1) the U.S. House and Senate being able to shepherd through a tighter immigration-control initiative, which will then not be vetoed by President Clinton (a veto would be virtually impossible to overturn), or

(2) Preston Manning and his Reform Party (who now have 51 seats in the Federal Parliament)

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winning the general federal election in Canada (expected sometime in 1997) either with an outright majority (a minimum of 151 out of 301 seats); or winning a plurality of seats, and then somehow being able to attract the support of some other parties to form a coalition government?

While the Canadian scenario clearly appears less likely, perhaps it may be argued that merely the presence of a "right-wing option" on the political stage would convince the ruling party (certainly the Liberals) to trim immigration somewhat. However, for the Liberals (as well as for the mostly "small-l-liberal" Progressive Conservatives, who now have two seats in the Federal Parliament) the maintenance of high immigration is often a core, bedrock, credal issue, which would typically be the last thing on which they would be willing to compromise.

So, while a "small-c-conservative" Canadian Prime Minister could indeed quickly turn around the immigration picture, such an eventuality is currently probably a lot less likely than the success of an initiative in the U.S. Congress, which would also probably be assisted by far looser party-discipline allowing for a bipartisan effort. (In the listing of immigration-control advocates in Congress published in THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Summer 1994, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 241-248, Democrats are not heavily outnumbered by Republicans.)

As for the possibility of some heavy-handed Supreme Court interventions, although Canada had few such tendencies until 1982 (when a new, progressively up-to-the-minute Charter of Rights and Freedoms had been brought in by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau) the Canadian Supreme Court — which lacks even one identifiable conservative — has not looked back since 1982 in its enthusiasm for devising new rights, freeing criminals, and so forth. So the Canadian Supreme Court would be even more likely than the U.S. Supreme Court to declare strong immigration-control initiatives as unconstitutional. Then the only escape-hatch would be the provision in the Charter of Rights that allows for the passing of legislation "notwithstanding" the Charter, but its use would be seen as so extraordinary, arbitrary, etc., that the political costs would be insuperable. Even assuming a working majority in the Federal Parliament, such legislation — coming in the teeth of a left already seething over electoral defeat — would probably entail a ferocious, raw, credal struggle, of which Preston Manning, the Reform Party, and right-leaning Canadians as a whole seem fundamentally incapable.

The issue of Canadian refugee policy vis-à-vis the whole immigration picture in Canada is really a large, separate topic. Roy Beck, in his *The Case Against Immigration* (W. W. Norton, 1996) argued that there may be, at most, 30,000 genuine, political-type refugees per year, *worldwide* — i.e. those persons in maximal danger who can benefit from temporary foreign refuge. According to Beck, even the United Nations sharply distinguishes between these refugees, and those millions of persons living in close vicinity to the areas of crisis whose problems must be resolved on site. Beck also argued that refugee status should not be a ticket to automatic citizenship — when the situations in the home countries improve, the refugees could return. This kind of argument makes Canada's refugee-policy seem ridiculous.

"...the maintenance of high immigration is often a core, bedrock, credal issue, which would typically be the last thing on which [the Liberals] would be willing to compromise."

It really appears that Canada's refugee policy has the effect of bringing in as many persons as possible from the most dissimilar societies on the planet, who would otherwise have absolutely no hope of getting into Canada. They typically have no relatives in Canada, and their qualifications and skills are in most cases minimal, so the refugee category offers an easy way of entry into the country. There was some discussion in the media that the government appears to have made mandatory a 90 percent acceptance rate of all refugee claims. It should also be pointed out that refugee-claimants immediately qualify for welfare, free medical care, free housing, free dental care, etc.

What many Canadians do not realize is that merely adhering strictly to the U.N. refugee-criteria

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(rather than creatively expanding them in so many directions) would reduce the number of refugees accepted here to a few thousand a year — down from the figure of about 50,000 a year which has been running continuously since about 1987.

The Canadian refugee-claimant system, which is highly questionable in itself, is riddled with a plethora of abuses. For example, Canada has accepted refugees from countries which by no stretch of the imagination can be considered as enduring life-threatening civil conflict, e.g. Jamaica. There have been cases where refugee-claimants left and re-entered the country, and then claimed refugee status again, under an assumed name, in order to double their benefits. One convicted criminal filed his refugee claim from jail — and was accepted! An eighteen-year old woman from Trinidad was accepted as a refugee because her father's traditional restrictions on her behavior were considered "abuse." There are now plans to allow any women who claim they are subjected to "abuse" in their home-countries to receive refugee status. Since virtually all Third World societies are more traditional than Canada, and their traditional forms of family life are often considered as "oppression," this means potentially hundreds of millions of such women could come to Canada. Also, homosexuals — who are said to be persecuted in virtually any society outside of North America and Western Europe — can find refuge in Canada. Persons suffering from AIDS are also obviously victims, and that, too, has now become a mandatory refugee-category, i.e. Canada will automatically grant refugee-status to such a person. They can then take advantage of Canada's generous, so-called "free" medical care.

"...at most 20% of immigrants in the last two decades have been admitted under criteria which... take the real interests of Canada into account."

Near the end of 1996, the Immigration Minister, Lucienne Robillard, announced an amnesty for about 16,000 Somali and Afghani refugee-claimants, who simply had *no* documentation papers. Their acceptance was provisional upon their keeping crime-free for five years. Somali organizations (whose budgets, incidentally, are almost entirely covered by federal, provincial, and municipal Canadian governments) criticized the Canadian government for not immediately granting landed-immigrant status to these persons, as this would qualify them for even further benefits, including the right to sponsor family members, and would avoid making their acceptance in any sense contingent.

This combination of family-reunification and refugee policies has meant that at most 20 percent of the immigrants in the last two decades have been admitted under criteria which in some sense take the real interests of Canada into account.

When one reads in Jeremy Rifkin's *The End of Work* (Putnam, 1994, paperback, 1996) his predictions that, in the near-future, only about 25 percent of the population will have full-time, fully-renumerative jobs, and that the rest will be marginalized in different ways, one might well ask why Canada has been bringing in about a quarter-million persons a year since about 1987, a very large proportion of whom have not been selected for their tangible skills and qualifications.

Insofar as large numbers of visible minorities find themselves in the marginalized category, this will only add further impetus to affirmative-action policies, which are already very strongly promoted. (Affirmative-action is termed "employment equity" in Canada.) While super-rich white elites (most of whom are in fact Left-liberal in views) will probably always be able to find ways around these restrictions, it will put many middle-class, lower-middle-class, and working-class white males at the absolute bottom of society, regardless of how talented, qualified, hardworking, etc., they are.

In any event, English-Canadians' traditional deference to authority, while perhaps a positive trait in earlier times, now contributes to their placid acquiescence to whatever the Left-liberal elites dish out. There is practically none of the rambunctiousness of American conservatism or populism here. As they are driven into social and cultural oblivion, typical English-Canadians will probably only mutter apologies for being insufficiently politically-correct. TSC

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Picturing Dystopia

Social change by way of the popular novel

by John Zmirak

I am working on a novel that deals with what will be the likely results in the very near future of mass immigration to America. The novel jumps around in time, but the narrative "present" is around 2050, 44 years after the already porous U.S. borders were finally declared open in 2006 by an idealistic, ideologically-driven president based loosely on Jack Kemp.

I move the novel sixty years into the future to show the ultimate impact of mass immigration, drawn from every corner of the earth, driven not by the U.S.'s economic needs or cultural preferences, but simply by poverty and ambition on the part of individual immigrants — and the neglect of foreign governments who would prefer to displace the impact of their disastrous policies onto the United States rather than undertake painful reforms.

While my technique is complex, drawing upon the examples of such masters of satire as Evelyn Waugh, Walker Percy and Anthony Burgess, my purpose is simple: to deflate the carefully-maintained intellectual myth that America's very essence is her openness to immigrants; that she is an exception to divine law, human nature and history, with an infinite capacity to assimilate foreigners to her ideals and culture, with no loss of cohesion, sophistication, and order.

Millions of people believe that because America once was able to manage such an assimilation (in a very different era) she will be able to do so again.

Of course, such people are wrong even in their history. Despite anarchist Emma Lazarus' insulting and dishonest little poem hanging inside the museum at the Statue of Liberty, America never pretended she could assimilate unlimited numbers of immigrants from every civilization. Rather, in a few discrete periods of time, especially the late 19th century, the U.S. accepted millions of migrants, mostly from the same civilization which created the U.S.: from Europe, but from a wider swath of Europe — especially the Catholic and Jewish areas which had not taken part in the original Protestant settlement of the Anglophone portion of the continent. The U.S. maintained this policy throughout the so-called Age of Laissez-faire, mostly in order to provide the vast manpower needs for cheap labor and yeoman farmers required to settle and mechanize a continent newly acquired from the Indians, Mexicans, French and Spanish. This policy was driven by national interest, and served to benefit some citizens — especially the new immigrants — while harming others (such as the displaced Indians and Mexicans). But overall, it was a success, because the age called for cheap labor and plenty of it — and immigrants came even cheaper than slaves. In ante-bellum New Orleans, for instance, the really dangerous work of digging canals was not done by slaves — who were considered valuable investments — but rather by Irish immigrants, whose deaths could be ignored, and who were easily replaced.

Once America's expansion was accomplished and the people who had settled here began to expect a higher living standard for labor, unions began to organize resident workers — many of whom promptly joined the new restrictionist movement. They were opposed mainly by Big Capital, the barons of the Gilded Age who wanted to keep labor cheap, regardless of its effects on the nation.

Another concern of early restrictionists was the cultural change that might be caused by the new immigrants — people like me, for instance: Catholics and Slavs with no particular regard for English folk-ways and an active hostility to Protestant religion and culture. (I still feel that way, in fact, so I guess I'm not entirely assimilated. I feel more kinship to Archduke Otto von Habsburg than I do to Prince Charles of Wales.)

These restrictionists feared that their basically Protestant, individualistic society, which favored

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small, local government and decentralized power, would be changed irrevocably by millions of immigrants from centralized monarchies with no tradition of liberty or self-government, and a bias toward clannish, machine politics.

And they were right: the New Deal coalition that elected Roosevelt was largely composed of Southern Democrats and the sons of recent immigrants, and it changed America irrevocably, for better or worse. Who knows how much more radically it might have changed if the borders had not been closed in the 1920s to Eastern European refugees and political radicals? Perhaps the U.S. branch of the Communist Party might have gotten control of more than Hollywood and a few labor unions. Or perhaps a much larger community of expatriates from Eastern Europe would have pushed us into a "hot war" with Soviet Russia to roll back Communism. While such speculation is ultimately useless,[1] it is undeniable that the broad, pre-1920 immigration did encourage America to abandon her traditional "hands-off" policy toward Europe, and drive us to involvement in Europe's wars — especially the First World War, in which we had absolutely no business fighting.

Back to the present day. Both political parties recognize the transformative power of immigrant votes and are striving to use them. President Clinton worked to get recent new arrivals naturalized and registered to vote — presumably because he expected they would provide new voters to support the welfare state. President Reagan pursued an analogous policy with Cuban refugees in Florida.

The Hispanic activists who marched on Washington [in October, 1996] revealed that their intentions follow the same lines. They put the Congress (especially Republicans) on notice that they are becoming a major voting bloc whose numbers will sooner or later allow them to dictate our immigration policy, just as Cuban political refugees dictate our Caribbean policy. Jack Kemp and William Bennett cite this fact as an argument for Republicans to embrace open borders, so as to get on the good side of these groups before they take over — and in order completely to silence the restrictionist movement, whose natural home is in the Republican party.

Now, one may well agree with firm U.S. opposition to Castro — as I do, on grounds of morality and U.S. national interest — but no principled citizen ought to be happy that pressure exerted by emigres determines U.S. foreign policy, as it does. In the same way, no loyal American should accept the idea that immigrants who have not even arrived here yet must be accomodated and flattered, and handed effective control over our future immigration policy. Such a policy, enacted by new arrivals for the benefit of future arrivals, is not worthy of the term "immigration." It is more accurately called "colonization" or "invasion." This is how the Spanish settled Mexico, how the English colonized the eastern seaboard, how the Ostrogoths took over Italy. Ask the Aztecs, the Cherokees, and the Romans whether what they experienced was "immigration." One does not go too far to label advocating such a policy un-American. I think in fact we ought to be straightforward and call it "treason."

In the novel I am writing, *White Fright*, I project current trends into the future, depicting an American continent divided into 15 or more ethnically-based, Bosnian-style mini-states, most of them in a state of war. The major cities are largely controlled by beleaguered African-Americans, while large swaths of the suburbs and countryside consist of angry whites who have resorted to racist ideology, even as they were dispossessed.

Other regions of the country have fallen under the control of local immigrant groups — Arabic, Indian, Chinese — or neighboring countries, especially Mexico, Cuba and Quebec. Major cosmopolitan cities, such as Los Angeles and New York, have been divided into Swiss-style cantons, with heavily armed internal borders. The Confederacy, which has been revived throughout much of the South, sits in uneasy alliance with the League of Afrikan-Amerikan city-states, against the radical white nationalists of the Republic of Northern Virginia (headquartered in Langley, and composed of refugee federal employees) and Greater Cuba, which controls the Gulf Coast. And so on. You get the idea.

I depict the state of things as of 2050, then move back in time to depict how things came to such a pass — which strains of multiculturalism, neoconservatism and ethnic nationalism were responsible for the destruction of the United States, and how the attempt to achieve an ethnic utopia created a positive hell on earth.

The goal of a political novel, such as this one, is

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to effect social change. That much is obvious. What is not so obvious, perhaps, is *how* it effects such change, what elements in a successful novel of this type give it power and resonance in the popular mind, so that civic-minded people begin to cite the novel as an authority. Currently, there are quite a few novels which enjoy such authority, which are regularly introduced into political discussions as primary sources: Orwell's *1984*, a passionate, depressing picture of a global totalitarian future, a culmination of all the worst elements in socialism; Huxley's *Brave New World*, a technological nightmare that imagines the triumph of Western secular consumerism at the expense of the human soul; Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange*, which depicts a future welfare state in which popular culture has so degraded human beings that they may only be induced to virtue through Pavlovian operant conditioning. And so on. I could expand the list with no real trouble. What unites these novels is their use of a governing motif. Each author takes a current political vice and exaggerates it to the point of absurdity for satirical effect in the hope that the future threatened in the "anti-utopian" novel can be averted.

"The goal of a political novel is to effect social change. ...civic-minded people begin to cite the novel as an authority."

Of course, the most relevant novel to the immigration debate today is Jean Raspail's masterpiece, *The Camp of the Saints*,[2] an apocalyptic parable of Western man being swallowed up by waves of Third World refugees, and the destruction of Western culture all around the world. Many, including Yale's Paul Kennedy in *The Atlantic Monthly* (December 1994), have read this book on its most literal level, as a warning against overpopulation and underdevelopment in the non-white world, which must come on a collision course with great wealth and low birth rates in the West. While this is certainly valid up to a point, there is something much deeper going on in the novel, as writers in *The Social Contract* special issue on the book made clear (Vol.V, No.2, Winter 1994-95).[3]

At its most profound level, *The Camp of the Saints* is an elegiac poem of love for Christendom, especially for Christendom in France, the place for which Raspail holds a particular affection. That is the key word here, perhaps in the whole cultural debate over immigration: "particular," as in particularism — the opposite of universalism. The political vice which Raspail singles out for attack is universalism, which in American political terms is represented by multiculturalism on the Left, and neoconservatism on the Right.

Just as it is impossible (or meaningless) to say that one is in love with a hundred wives or a thousand concubines, such as Abraham or David enjoyed, so it is meaningless to say that one loves all one's fellow men equally. One cannot love a million strangers as one should truly love a brother or a son; just as it is impossible for all the children in a town to be above average. The decision to love an individual is a choice (made on certain rational, and many pre- or non-rational grounds) to single him or her out as special, for treatment that goes beyond mere justice or habitual courtesy and benevolence.

In its traditional form — especially the medieval form treasured by Raspail, a Catholic monarchist — Christian theology demands that one make such distinctions. A husband is called to love his wife above all other women; a vassal is called upon to love and obey his lord; a peasant must love and obey his king before all other monarchs; one must love a fellow Christian differently from an infidel; a knight treasures a special, singular love for the lady who is his courtly ideal, and so on.

In fact, as cultural historians such as Jan Huizinga point out, Western medieval Christendom was a highly articulated system of distinctions between individuals based on blood, birth, caste, calling, estate, etc.— all under the rubric of an ideal of Christian charity, which everyone deserved for the sake of Christ. But the Church was very clear — as it is no longer clear, I'm afraid — about what this meant. It did not mean that one could take the bread out of one's own son's mouth to feed a stranger; this parody of Christian love is something which only Ayn Rand or a liberal American bishop could mistake for the charity evinced by St. Louis the Crusader, St. Joan of Arc, St. Dominic and St. Ignatius Loyola.

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Rather, it meant that one must desire the highest good for everyone; but that highest good was defined spiritually, as eternal salvation. While charitable works were demanded on behalf of the poor, Christ Himself chose the term "neighbor" as the rightful object of charity. This term can be flexible, of course, and there is a rarified sense in which the entire human community is one's neighbor — but this sense can never be stressed at the expense of one's real, next-door neighbors, and then one's fellow countrymen, those people who are part of the same great national family which fights wars, makes laws, and creates a culture together. As the classic principle of subsidiarity makes clear, one's duty is first to a close family member, then to a neighbor, then to a countryman, and only finally to a stranger or foreigner.

Raspail partakes in this medieval definition of the nation as a family, with the King as the Father of that country. In the French tradition, that Father is Clovis, the first king of France to accept baptism — an event patriotic Frenchmen celebrated recently. By this particularist definition of France, one may rightly make distinctions between an Algerian Arab and a Provençal peasant, and favor the latter (without any need for racist notions of objective "superiority" or "inferiority"). Another French tradition exists, that of Republican, secular France, established in 1789. Followers of such a tradition have no real warrant for excluding anyone from full citizenship — except perhaps for monarchists such as Raspail.

Similarly, in America, two definitions of the nation compete: the traditionalist notion (best expressed by Russell Kirk) which traces our liberties and our cultural self-definition to the British liberties found in the Magna Carta, the individualism of Scots-Irish culture, and the Common Law.

The other notion, the Enlightenment conception of America as merely the product of a universal political ideal, finds its best expression in the Declaration of' Independence, the Gettysburg Address and other works of political rhetoric. However much these documents were really the products of concrete historical situations, designed to meet real expediencies of statecraft, their universalist language and Enlightenment rationales undermine every attempt to connect American patriotism to a particularist love of one's own country and people. Instead, they point to an America which is little more than an ideological transmission belt for certain Enlightenment ideas about man — not particularly persuasive ones, to my mind.

In such a vision, the concrete reality of America and its people, culture and life are of no importance, compared to the abstract ideals which the former will be yoked to serve. Just as battered France and starving Russia were lashed by universalist idealogues into the service of Revolution, without regard to their real national interests, so our current American universalists wish to turn America into a mere experiment in multiculturalism, with a moralistic foreign policy devoted to global meddling, regardless of the cost in American lives and the unthinking hubris which it obviously betrays.

The more our population is replaced by immigrants — as natives, especially of the working class, are economically unable to raise and educate large families — the smaller will be our remaining core of traditions, folk-ways, local popular and high culture. The more our current European core is replaced by others, the more true the ideological, Enlightenment definition of America will become — and the less liveable and loveable she will be. Should America at last become a universal society, totally heterogeneous with no core culture except capitalism and liberalism, she will truly become an "It" — a faceless, soulless dystopia that is not worth fighting for.

The ideology which seeks to bring such a state about is a pretended universal love, and really amounts to hatred of one's neighbors (to whom one owes something) in favor of strangers (to whom one owes nothing). This is the target of my own satire. As Orwell helped to discredit hardline socialism, and Solszhenitysn discredited communism, I hope to do my part (following Raspail's brilliant lead) in discrediting multicultural and neoconservative thought — the left and right wing of America's Jacobin ideology. TSC

[1] See David Payne's article, following on page 115.

[2] *The Camp of the Saints* by Jean Raspail has been reprinted by the Social Contract Press and is available at a cost of $12.95. To order call 1-800-352-4843.

[3] Previous issues of *The Social Contract* journal are available at $7.50 each. To order call 1-800-352-4843.

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Light Bulbs, Flying Horses, and Cleopatra's Nose

Another fallacy in the immigration debate

by David G. Payne

Cleopatra's nose: had it been shorter, the whole aspect of the world would have been altered.
—PASCAL, *Pensées*, II, 162

In this article I will discuss an odd sort of causal fallacy in logic that one never hears much about — one which I will call the fallacy of the counterfactual conditional. A counterfactual conditional occurs whenever we say something like, "If I had known then what I know now I would have acted differently." The conditional is contrary-to-fact (counterfactual) because it did not occur — you did *not* know then what you know now. In one obvious sense it is a moot question how you might have acted if something had or had not occurred, yet such turns of phrase are used quite often in discourse, are favorite topics among (amateur) historians, and can be powerful rhetorical devices when wielded with skill.

There is a fine example of the fallacy of counterfactual conditionals in a review by Francis Fukuyama of Roy Beck's book, *The Case Against Immigration* (*The New York Times Book Review*, September 1, 1996). Fukuyama criticizes Beck, asserting that he is on shaky ground when he says that immigration harms all sectors of the economy. As "proof" of this point he proceeds as follows:

> *But if Eric Benhamou the founder of 3Com, a major computer networking company, had not emigrated from Algeria, his job would not have been filled by a native; 3Com, with its billions in market capitalization, and the 3,000 jobs it has created, would simply not exist.*

We can grant Fukuyama the point that if Benhamou had not emigrated from Algeria the exact company, 3Com, would not exist (of course it still might, but we can grant him this point nonetheless). But how does he know that the existence of 3Com didn't keep another company, say, 4Com, created by a native, from existing, which would have provided 4,000 jobs? Are we to believe that all the computer work done by 3Com would simply go begging? Wouldn't their clients have hired someone else? Such counterfactual assertions (counterfactual since he is saying "if Benhamou had not emigrated from Algeria...") border on the absurd, since they are impossible to verify or falsify (the burden of proof is clearly on Fukuyama since he is the one making the assertion).

At first glance it may seem that Fukuyama is in esteemed company — Pascal having indulged in counterfactuals himself with respect to Cleopatra's nose. But Pascal's concern was the overarching effects of love on momentous historical decisions, and the clever phrase about Cleopatra seems no more than a tongue-in-cheek example of such. The difference between Pascal and Fukuyama, however, is that Pascal makes no assertion as to the actual states of affairs that follow from what might not have been, while Fukuyama does.

And therein lies the problem. When using counterfactual conditionals to argue specific positions, enormously complex issues are consistently oversimplified. This tendency stems from the fact that the users of such counterfactual conditionals ignore the time-honored dictum: "everything is connected" — along with its corollary: "you can never do just one thing." All too often writers assume that they can change one factor in a historical situation and then sit back and confidently predict what might have happened. A classic example of this is found in the following statement:

> (1) If the Archduke Ferdinand had not been assassinated in 1914, World War I would have been averted.

The oversimplification here is the assumption that the assassination of the Archduke was *the* causal factor

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behind World War I, which is obviously false. The causes behind that war were many, and complex beyond our comprehension.

And how do you pick out causes anyway? If we grant that Pascal has a point with respect to Cleopatra's nose, we also have to admit to other factors as well, such as the political climate of the times, the military strengths and weaknesses of the Romans and their foes, etc., etc. Why pick out Cleopatra's nose as the cause? Surely because it makes for a clever quip, and fits in well with Pascal's thesis about the influence of desire on history. The fact is, however, that you could pick out almost any insignificant fact from the past, assume that it did not happen, and show momentous effects in the present. What if Napoleon had not eaten a bit of bad chicken on the eve of the battle of Waterloo? What if the breeze from the butterfly's wings in China had not caused the hurricane in the Caribbean?[1]

Here is a statement that illustrates the same general problem, but with a slightly different twist:

(2) If Thomas Edison had not existed, we would not have electric lights today.

This statement is almost assuredly false — many people were working on the electric light during Edison's time. He just happened to be the first person to be successful in the endeavor to create one that could be mass produced at low cost. You might be tempted to believe (2) only if you knew nothing of the history of the development of the light bulb, and even then you should be suspect.

Here is another statement with similar form, but which fools no one:

(3) If Giacomo Leone had not won the New York Marathon, then no one would have won.

This statement is easily seen to be false because other important factors (the other competitors) are extremely visible. But (2) is no less absurd than (3), it's just that (2) might fool those who mistakenly or unthinkingly believe that Edison was working in a vacuum (pun definitely intended).

The failure to realize that you can never do just one thing when dealing with causation is also exemplified by statements such as the following:

(4) If horses had wings they could fly.

This is the error of not taking the system as a whole into account, which is just another way of saying what was said above. Ancient accounts of winged horses are now usually relegated to the realm of biological impossibility. Whether this is true or not (I don't want to get into a discussion of the various types of possibility), the interesting point is the huge oversimplification involved in assuming that you could simply stick wings on a horse and have it fly. Modern calculations show that the wingspan needed to put a horse to flight would be approximately the length of a football field. But with such enormous wings the muscles and tendons would have to be equally enormous and would need equally enormous bones to support them, etc., etc. — all of which increase the weight significantly, leading to a need for yet larger wings. There is also the metabolism question: in order to generate the energy for flight, the beast would have to be carnivorous (as in prehistoric days). But then, when does a horse cease being a horse? The problems multiply exponentially — we can never change just one thing.

You get the point. We cannot simply pull a fact out of its context and manipulate it causally for our own enjoyment.

Going back to Fukuyama's criticism of Beck — as you can see, Fukuyama has no business telling us what might have been the case had Benhamou not emigrated. He tries to make us believe that Benhamou was a necessary precondition to the creation of 3,000 jobs, when it is more likely that Benhamou is merely to job-creation as Edison was to electric lighting.

In a debate situation, Beck might simply call Fukuyama on the fallacy or, as a technique of rhetoric, he might use the same fallacy in return: if Benhamou had stayed in Algeria and created 3Com there he could have conducted his business via satellites and the internet. This would have allowed him to pay Algerian rather than U.S. wages, passing the savings to his U.S. customers and making more for himself. In addition, the jobs created in Algeria would have lessened migration pressure for our ally, France. The EU would have been strengthened, reenforcing Fukuyama's goal of deregulated world trade.

The moral to all of this is (to revise a phrase from Wittgenstein): we should pass over in silence those things about which we know nothing. And we know nothing at all of what might have been, but never was.

But if we could... TSC

[1] Philosophers and some quantum physicists illuminate (or obfuscate, depending on one's view) this discussion by talking of possible worlds, superpositions of states, etc.

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Ethics Trumping Economics?

The economics of immigration control

by Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

In 1993, the United Nation's Population Fund identified immigration as "the human crisis of the age." Its report pointed out that, historically, there were vast unpopulated spaces on Earth that were livable and where human beings could move in times of conflict, depletion of their local natural resources, climatological changes, or natural disasters. By the end of the 20th century, however, it is no longer possible to move *en masse* anywhere on the globe without confronting territory already occupied by others. Moreover, the report states that these would-be "recipient areas and countries are already under stress" themselves. Consequently, immigration is emerging as *the key issue* confronting the governments of nation states everywhere.

So far, the nation state remains the only significant policymaking entity throughout the world. Even international agreements must be ratified by individual nation states before they become effective. Nation states, in turn, usually act in what they perceive as being their own national interest. Often, such actions appear to be selfish in their motivations. Normally, they are. Yet in each case, "serving the national interest" is the rationale offered for the actions taken by their leaders.

In most instances, economic considerations are paramount in determining how policy decisions reflect the national interest. The 1991 war with Iraq was a prime example of economic interests defining national interests. The people of the United States had no particular concern about the survival of the feudal kingdom of Kuwait but they did have a major stake in the issue as to who would exert control over the vast oil holdings of the nations surrounding the Persian Gulf. Hence, it was relatively easy for political leaders to rally the country to go to war with Iraq. It has been much harder to arouse support for defending human life from tyrants in Bosnia, Haiti, or Somalia in the subsequent few years because direct economic interests have not been at stake.

But there has been one major exception in the United States to the general principle that economic considerations usually determine national interests. It is with respect to the factors surrounding the formulation of its post-1965 immigration policy. The revival of the phenomenon of mass immigration from out of the nation's distant past has been characterized by policies that completely ignore its enormous economic consequences. These policies have in no way served the national interest. Indeed, public policy in the area of immigration over the past three decades has been enacted and perpetuated in direct defiance of repeated public opinion polls that have consistently indicated a desire for major reforms and course changes.

Moreover, two presidential commissions that have been set up over the past two decades to study the impacts of immigration policy have both concluded that substantial changes are required to make the extant immigration policy congruent with the national interest. So far, their pleas have gone largely unheeded.

Brief Perspectives on Policy Development

The "open borders" policy that characterized the first 100 years of the nation's history made sense. The land mass of the country was rapidly expanding as the result of purchases, treaties, and wars. Most of

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the immigrants of that era came because they wanted to do so (i.e., they were "pushed" out of their homelands by various circumstances and events). Moreover, the infant nation was hardly in a position of sufficient strength at the time to keep out people who wanted to come.

By the 1920s, the land expansion era had ended. The wilderness frontiers had all been overcome. Moreover, the nation was in the throes of full-scale industrialization. The government was in the process of centralizing its power and influence over the people who lived within its boundaries. In the process, the nation's first comprehensive immigration policy was adopted in 1924. It set the first annual ceiling on the number of immigrants who could enter. But the legislation went further. It also adopted ethnic screening provisions that favored some, disfavored others, and forbade the entry of others. Hence, the primary rationale for the immigration policy at the time was social policy. This discriminatory use of immigration policy has haunted immigration policy formulation ever since. But this policy cannot be simply dismissed as being racist or ethnocentric. The provisions of that infamous legislation did *not* apply to the entire Western Hemisphere. Immigration from Mexico, the Caribbean area, Central America, and Canada soared during its years of existence. Moreover, it was also the case that economic concerns were among the important forces leading to the passage of the immigration restrictions. After all, the legislation was strongly supported by leaders of the business, union, academic, social work, and Protestant church communities. It had widespread popular support. Even the socialist leaders in Milwaukee, for instance, openly stated their belief that the solidarity of all workers in the world did not mean that they had a right to assemble in Milwaukee.

"...this [1924] policy cannot be simply dismissed as being ethnocentric or racist. ...economic concerns were among the important factors leading to...restrictions."

By the 1960s, circumstances had changed. Internationally, the United States was the leader of the free world. Domestically, the civil rights movement required that changes be made in the nation's immigration system. The ensuing reforms were intended to get rid of the discriminatory national origins features that applied to the Eastern Hemisphere and had been in place for over 40 years. There was, however, no intention at the time to raise the level of immigration. There was no need to do so. The post-World War II "baby boom" was just entering its labor force-impact phase. There was no shortage of labor at the time.

The historic Immigration Act of 1965 did end the national origins admission system. In its place, a new entry system was introduced. It embraced the politically popular concept of family reunification that today it accounts for about 80 percent of all legal admissions that occur each year. Family ties — not skills, educational attainment, fluency in English, or settlement patterns — became the major criterion for admission. Nepotism became, and remains, the principle descriptive characteristic of the post-1965 immigration system.

The Act also created an admission category for refugees. But even they were defined in a political context. Persons persecuted by communist governments qualified but those persecuted by right-wing dictatorships did not. It was not until 1980 that this political bias was formally removed from the refugee admission system although, in practice, the policy remained in place through administrative actions until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 (i.e., grants of political asylum were easy for Cubans and Nicaraguans but not for Haitians, Guatemalans, or El Salvadorans).

The Revival of Mass Immigration

Since 1965, immigration levels have soared. So has illegal immigration along with the increasing entry of refugees, asylum seekers, and foreign nationals permitted to work on temporary visas. Immigrants now account for about one-third of the annual growth in the U.S. population and, perhaps, as much as 40 percent of the annual growth of the U.S. labor force (estimates vary — the numbers of illegal immigrants cannot be precisely measured).

Though extant immigration policy has been designed to meet political goals, it does not mean

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that there have not been significant economic consequences. To the contrary, with

- legal immigration averaging around one million persons a year,
- net illegal immigration conservatively estimated by the Bureau of the Census to be about 300,000 persons a year,
- refugees averaging about 100,000 persons a year,
- asylum seekers backlogged at about 400,000 applicants in 1995, and
- foreign nationals legally permitted to work in the U.S. averaging about 500,000 workers a year,

the cumulative impact of immigrants on the size and composition of the U.S. labor force has been enormous. It is long past time for U.S. immigration policy to be held accountable for its economic consequences.

The Economic Consequences of Mass Immigration

Mass immigration is not neutral in its impacts. Existing research shows that the immigrants are adversely affecting employment opportunities for citizens (especially low income citizens who are minorities, women, and youths); depressing wage rates (especially for the lowest paid workers in the nation); and adversely affecting the distribution of income within the nation. It has caused unemployment to increase (the unemployment rate of immigrants to almost twice that of native born persons). Immigrants have overwhelmingly settled in urban areas — especially in central cities that are already plagued by a variety of social ills and fiscal burdens. The usage of welfare in all of its diverse forms by immigrants is disproportionately higher than is their proportion of the population. Immigration policy must be altered to correct for these undesirable outcomes.

Finding a New Policy Rationale

If immigration were to be guided by economic considerations, policymakers would be forced to focus on choices. Economics, after all, is the science of making choices. It is impossible for everyone to have all of everything any time they want. Priorities must be set. Benefits and costs must be weighed. Immigration has adverse economic effects now but they are simply ignored. By making immigration policy responsible for its economic impacts, it could serve the national interest, not private interests as is presently the case.

Economic interests of the nation, of course, will change with time. New circumstances require new responses. The prevailing immigration system, with its purely political focus, has no flexibility to adapt. Immigration levels must be subject to annual administrative alterations to reflect changing domestic economic conditions. What possible sense did it make in 1991 to have the highest number of legal immigrants in any year in U.S. history enter or adjust their status at the very time the U.S. economy slipped into deep recession? There were one million fewer Americans working at the end of 1991 than there were when the year began.

But aside from the fundamental issue of the annual level of immigration, there is the other critical issue. Who should be admitted and who should not if the immigration system were changed from its present nepotistic orientation? What should be the ethical basis for immigration reform?

"Immigration levels must be able to be administratively altered annually to reflect changing domestic economic conditions."

If immigration policy were changed to reflect economic rather than political goals, anticipated and planned outcomes would be the basis for what would be done. Ethical considerations could not trump economic considerations since an immigration system based on economic considerations would force the recognition of who benefits and who loses. Under the present system, economic outcomes are essentially accidental because they are not part of the decision-making process. If economic considerations became the basis for entry, the benefits could be maximized for the nation while the costs could be minimized. There would still be winners and losers, but the outcome would be based on what is in the best interest of the nation. What could be a more ethical basis of the formulation of public policy?

Under the present system, the greatest losers are clearly the least fortunate in the labor force and population. The 1990 Census revealed that 25 percent of the adult population of the U.S. had less

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than a 9th grade education and 42 percent had less than a high school education. The comparable rates for the native born were 10 percent and 25 percent respectively. Clearly, it is the large number of low-skilled and low-income native-born workers who are bearing the brunt of the competition for jobs and income with most of the immigrants. Many years ago, before the current mass immigration began, Professor Melvin Reder of the economics faculty of the University of Chicago observed that "our immigration policy inevitably reflects a kind of national selfishness of which the major beneficiaries are the least fortunate among us. We could not completely abandon this policy even if we so desired." He issued this warning in 1963 — two years before the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 that rekindled mass immigration with its absolute indifference to economic outcomes.

"Restrictions on immigration are part of the necessary array of worker protections that define an equitable society."

It is also the case that taxpayers are significant losers. Given the disproportionately high number of immigrants in poverty (29 percent of the foreign-born population versus 15 percent native born population in 1990), the higher use of welfare, food stamps, Medicaid and emergency medical services by the foreign-born population means that these costs are disproportionately borne by the native-born taxpayers. The same can be said for the costs of education in those communities where immigrants have congregated. These higher taxes more than offset any possible advantage that consumers might receive in the way of lower product prices due to increased labor supplies. Moreover, in today's urban economies, the gains from hiring immigrant labor are more likely to be appropriated by businesses in the form of enhanced profits than to show up as lower prices for consumers.

Concluding Observations

In a capitalistic, free market-oriented economy, it is the role of government to set the parameters for competition. These take the form of laws pertaining to minimum wages, maximum hours, the employment of children, safety and health conditions, and equal employment practices. Restrictions on immigration are part of the necessary array of worker protections that define an equitable society. The history of working people in the United States is resplendent with examples of why no civilized society can prevail where unfettered market competition prevails. There must be ground rules. Immigration policy, as Reder pointed out, is one of them.

The U.S. has made great strides over its history to place limits on market place activity. These limits have been designed to take the hard edges off life in a capitalistic economy. The practice of allowing the mass entry of immigrants (legal and illegal) who are known to adversely affect the employment and income opportunities of those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder raises serious ethical issues for those who oppose immigration reform. Everyone knows that a massive inflow of lawyers, doctors, professors, or business executives would be cut off before it could start. But when immigrants crowd into low-skilled jobs in light manufacturing, farming, hotels, restaurants, landscaping, or personal services, suddenly there is feigned confusion about whether this is good or bad. The hypocrisy is obvious.

There are, of course, ethical issues pertaining to those who are kept out and are required to remain in their homelands. It may mean they face lives of misery, poverty, and hopelessness. But immigration to the U.S. cannot conceivably be the answer to pervasive negative influences in the sending countries that forces so many of their people to emigrate. To the degree we can ameliorate any of the "push" factors, the appropriate policy interventions would include information and means to control population growth, economic development assistance, preferential trade commissions, and linkages of assistance measures to compliance with human rights practices by the governments of such nations. It is essential that measures deal with actual causes rather than their symptoms.

Ethical concerns cannot cancel out economic concerns when it comes to the design of immigration policy, for there are economic consequences regardless of what course is chosen. Making anticipated economic impacts the central feature of U.S. immigration policymaking, however, can help to define which side are you on. TSC

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Winners and Losers

The troubling analogy of our current immigration economy to that of the antebellum South

by Mark S. Godec

A troubling analogy comes to mind as one reads reports the last few years showing the real incomes of the lowest-paid American workers *falling* dramatically while incomes have *increased* even more dramatically for those at the top. The richest one percent of Americans now own nearly 40 percent of the nation's wealth (up from 20 percent in the mid-1970s). Numerous scholars have written about the role of unprecedented numbers of immigrants over the last 20 years helping to create such great income disparity.

The current use of immigrants in the labor force to enhance the wealth of the privileged, while driving many more American workers out of the middle class, is analogous to what slavery did to the Southern economy before the Civil War.

For simplicity, consider two families who arrived in America from England well before the Revolutionary War. Both families were of similar size and acquired the same amount of land next to each other. They both produced the same crops for sale in the market place at essentially the same price. Family A put aside its earnings as savings for its children so that they could one day buy land. Family B used its earnings to immediately purchase slaves who were put to work on the farm, producing more crops at lower cost. Family B then undercut the prices of Family A in the marketplace while maintaining its profits.

As time went on, family B continued to buy slaves while family A depleted its savings as it struggled to remain competitive in the marketplace. Eventually, family B was able to buy the land of family A and work both farms exclusively with slaves. The result in the pre-Civil War American South was a small number of very wealthy families owning the best land, and large numbers of slaves to work it. Poor whites who had failed to invest in slavery, and a few freed African-American slaves, were left with the worst land, unsuitable for large-scale operations. The middle-class was small and poor.

What took 100 years to develop in the American South before the Civil War has again occurred nation-wide in the last 20 years in a much more sophisticated fashion, concentrating excessive wealth among the upper classes and driving America toward a two-class society unparalleled among the industrialized nations. Although there is little overt buying and selling of people or forceful coercion of workers, many U.S. and foreign companies directly or indirectly employ people, even children, who work for what amounts to slave wages. Technology and transportation have advanced to the point where information can be sent to the other side of the world within seconds, and people can be moved globally within hours or days, to work where needed. These advancements, coupled with current global population pressures, make overt slavery largely unnecessary. It has been replaced by "wage slavery" whereby people are free to shift from one low-paying job to another, or to not work and starve, if they live in the Third World.

"The use of immigrants in the labor force ... is analogous to what slavery did to the Southern economy before the Civil War."

The modern-day American plantation may be seen in the urban McDonald's restaurants staffed by South and Central Americans and Asians working at

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minimum wage, the Sears stores filled with products from China, the Nike shoes made in Indonesia or the General Motors cars produced in Mexico or Korea. Even new high-technology post-industrial companies, such as Microsoft, do not hesitate to send high-skill computer programming jobs to countries with much lower labor costs, such as India, when it is in the financial interest of the company. Hospital corporations gladly hire physicians and health care professionals from the Third World who will work for much less than Americans. These companies pass on only a fraction of the savings to consumers, keeping most of the savings in labor costs for their own enrichment and expansion. Companies that fail to follow suit — like the farmers who didn't buy slaves — rapidly find themselves out of business.

"America is once again becoming a nation of winners and losers ... social unrest will grow."

It is commonly stated in the media that everyone in society profits from the cheap labor provided by immigrants and by importing goods. In reality, the benefit of cheap labor is not uniformly distributed throughout society and is largely retained by a small number of people at the top of society who recognize and are able to exploit the inverse relationship between capital accumulation and labor costs. Importing workers and exporting jobs has transferred the nation's wealth to the upper classes. The owners of companies and factories have in effect sold the jobs of the working classes to the lowest bidders. In the process, the upper class has increased its wealth by selling off much of the U.S. industrial base and has caused poverty in the lower classes.

In brief, America is once again becoming a nation of winners and losers, a country where exceptional wealth will live side by side with grinding poverty. Winding up on the wrong side of the line will mean a life of hard work with little compensation. Those Americans who are satisfied with this process, who believe that they are or will be among the winners in this society, must face a simple fact — there is no guarantee that their children or their grandchildren will also be winners.

Thomas Carlyle said of the American Civil War, "They are cutting each other's throats because one half of them prefer hiring their servants for life, and the other by the hour." It is said that labor can be bought in south China slave camps for as little as 10 cents an hour. If we continue importing goods and workers from such places, much of America will be on welfare, unwilling to work for similar wages, while a handful of people in America will reap the benefits of this labor. As many people see goods and services available to the wealthy that they cannot afford on their incomes, social unrest will grow.

There is also the problem of the handful of Americans who have benefited the most from this process and have become enormously wealthy. Asking the upper classes to give up the immigrant workers and imported goods that have made them wealthy would be like asking the slave-owners of the antebellum South to give up their slaves. They will use their wealth to make sure that this means of generating wealth is not threatened. As far as they are able, they will control the debate in the media and buy votes as needed in the U.S. Congress, demonstrating that America is reverting to a plutocracy — a country ruled by the rich, with only some superficial trappings of democracy remaining.

Thomas Jefferson compared slavery to holding a wolf by the ears — you dare not hold on and you dare not let go. America is again holding a wolf by the ears. We must restore the ability of all Americans to sell their labor within society for a fair price that will allow them to live decent lives, achieve independence, and support their families. We must tightly regulate immigration and the importation of goods that have been used to increase the wealth of the few at the expense of the many. This type of regulation already exists in law and in unwritten social convention in Germany and Japan — the world's leading creditor nations which have greater socio-economic equality than does America.

There are many precedents in American history for similar regulation, which has occurred in different ways at different times in our history. Only with such regulation will it be possible for all Americans and their children to enjoy their rightful share of the American dream. TSC

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The Ethnic Case Against Immigration

Is what's good for Guam not good for Wausau?

An internet debate between Perry Lorenz and Delegate Robert Underwood

This debate between Delegate Robert Underwood of Guam, United States House of Representatives, and me began after he replied to a message that I had e-mailed to 150 congressmen. The topic — ethnicity and immigration — is not only a sensitive subject, it is taboo. It's impact on our society is enormous, but the mainstream press will not discuss it.

Below I summarize the message I communicated to Senator Dianne Feinstein's (D-CA) state director, Bill Chandler, and office director, Russell Lowe, in their San Francisco office on April 8, 1996.

— PERRY LORENZ

The vast majority of people all over the world, are opposed to the transformation of their societies — ethnically, culturally or racially — by massive immigration. All nations have the right to preserve and defend their cultures, and to exclude aliens. Every immigrant-sending country actively defends its borders and its way-of-life.

The multiculturalist would have us abolish all national borders. In that event the poor nations would overwhelm the successful nations.

Tibet and Inner Mongolia are being over-run, as we speak, by massive numbers of Chinese immigrants. In 500 years, their cultures, their languages, races, and ethnicities will be gone. Extinct. They are doomed societies.

Here in America, as recently as 1965, there were only 800,000 Asians. Now there are 8 million. In 50 years there will be 40 million (Census Bureau data). The Asians have all of Asia, the biggest continent in the world. The Hispanics have all of South America, Central America, and Mexico. Yet they colonize this country.

Now I'm not suggesting that the Asians and the Hispanics should commit cultural suicide and allow 50 million Europeans to colonize their land. All I'm suggesting is that we Americans are a people! We are a nation! We have a right to this land! We have a right to close the borders!

In 1965, the European-Americans — the ethnic core of America, the people that have given this country its identity, its characteristics, its language and its culture — were 88 percent of the population. We have declined to 73 percent. We are losing 4 percent per decade. By the time my preschool children retire, we will be a minority in our own country (American Almanac, Bureau of the Census, p.18). That is national suicide. That is cultural self-destruction. We not only have the right, we have the obligation to pass on our culture, our land — our heritage — intact to our descendants.

* * *

Delegate Underwood, 5-9-96: I feel sorry for your view of America. It is so at variance with the ideals of the country.

Mr. Lorenz: I don't believe our country's ideals include making America's descendants into a minority. Ask your constituents.

Delegate Underwood: It is ideals which this country is about, not European origins.

Mr. Lorenz: If Congress were showing proper stewardship for this country, instead of embarking on a multicultural experiment, we would be maintaining our European origins *and* our European ideals.

If ideals were what this country is about, then those who share those ideals would be citizens and

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Perry Lorenz *is an electrical engineer at an electronics firm in California. Formerly a libertarian, his views of the nation-state rose out of the campaign for Proposition 187 in 1994 and his realization that American people were being displaced in California.*

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those who don't would be non-citizens. However, almost all nations recognize citizenship by descent. Americans who rape and murder, do not share America's ideals. They may be executed, but they are never stripped of citizenship. This is true for all countries.

Delegate Underwood: To be sure, we can and should regulate immigration in a way that makes sense (too few resources, economic effects, etc.), but to argue that regulations should be based upon a sense of loss about the European origins of the "core" of America is off base.

Mr. Lorenz: You must realize that you can not preserve the Chamorro culture, i.e. the culture of Guam, without the Chamorro people. Had immigration to Guam been restricted so that the Chamorro numbered 95 percent of the population instead of 47 percent, their culture and future would have been secure. If immigration is allowed to drive the Chamorro population down to 30 or 20 percent, ethnic and cultural survival are even less likely.

"Free migration, or open borders, in a world that adds one billion Third Worlders every 13 years means the destruction of every small ethnic group..."

Free migration, or open borders, in a world that adds one billion Third Worlders every 13 years means the destruction of every small ethnic group and even large nations if they are wealthy. What do you think would happen to the Chamorro, or their culture, if one or two thousand Filipinos arrived every year?

Is it common for the Chamorro to marry Filipino, Asian, or Caucasian people? If so, their ethnicity will rapidly dissipate. If not, they must compete with rival ethnics for land and resources. They must also struggle to preserve a culture while immersed in the cultures of others. Either way, the Chamorro suffer the losses, while the colonists grab new land for their ethnic groups. The Chamorro know this and appropriately oppose immigration to their island.

Delegate Underwood, 6-3-96: I just do not agree with your analysis that America is a country meant to exist for the benefit of those of European descent.

Mr. Lorenz: Europeans and their descendants, who settled this land and forged a new nation, would be very surprised to hear a member of Congress suggest this country was not meant for their descendants.

Your views are remarkable, not because they are unusual, but because among the elite they are common. But only recently common. From George Washington's administration to Eisenhower's you would not find such sentiments spoken in Congress.

Sen. Hyram Fong of Hawaii, [said] that under the [1965 immigration] bill "the Asian population would never surpass one percent of the U.S. population. I just want to make this point because the argument that the cultural pattern of the U.S. will change needs to be answered. Our cultural pattern will never be changed as far as America is concerned" (Auster p.21). Senator Fong's statement indicates that he and evidently the rest of the Senate would disagree with you. With all due respect, Delegate Underwood, your views stand outside the mainstream of American history.

And for whose benefit, do you think, is America meant to exist? Does Mexico exist for the benefit of Mexicans? Japan for the benefit of Japanese? Or is America the only country given this unusual colonial purpose? Do you think Americans want to become a minority in their own country?

[As Senator Eugene McCarthy says in his book,] "What distinguishes the United States from other colonized societies is that we have the power to prevent it, and choose not to use it. The backward societies of Asia and Africa were powerless to oppose the colonial hegemony exercised by the European powers in centuries past. We, on the other hand, have come to question whether the culture that built a society that has the world beating a path to our doors is even worth trying to preserve"(p.101).

Delegate Underwood: Your article is racistic and not merely racist.

Mr. Lorenz: Sometimes my friends say, "Perry, your argument is racist." I gently remind them that their multiculturalist open-border view is treason. So to avoid the pointless: "racist!" "traitor!" "racist!" "traitor!" exchange, we elevate the discussion to the level of intellect.

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My article is not racist. It's patriotic. Patriotism is about the survival of my country and my people. "Racism" is a term used by multicultural leftists to intimidate patriots, so they can have a free hand to do harm to my country.

I believe I am standing on higher moral ground when I argue that every race, every nation, and every ethnic group has the right to survive. Every ethnic group that considers itself a nation of people has the right to self-determination, on their own land, with secure borders. I believe this is a fundamental American value and that most people around the world would agree with it. Certainly the vast majority of people all over the world oppose the racial transformation of their societies. With all due respect, Delegate Underwood, the contrary view is held by only a small group of multiculturalist dissenters. But they are powerful, they dominate the media and they don't like to debate this issue.

Delegate Underwood: It views the existence of human beings as being primarily determined by their ethnic origins.

Mr. Lorenz: They fight in Bosnia and Rwanda because ethnicity is important. Canada is on the verge of breaking up, as is India, because ethnicity is important. Borders separate Germany, France, and Italy, because ethnicity is important. The Kurds are demanding a separate state, because ethnicity is important. Because of its large impact on personal and political behavior, ethnicity is important.

Delegate Underwood: I stand for the survival of the Chamorro people and the Chamorro culture, but it is foolhardy to do so on racistic grounds.

Mr. Lorenz: Demographers have projected the end of the line of pure-blood Hawaiians in the middle of the next century. Just about the same time European Americans become a minority due to Congressional immigration policy.

Dilution of Hawaiian ethnicity will continue for several more centuries. Then they are gone. Forever. Extinct.

This story of Man is commonplace. One or more groups migrate to a new land and push aside, displace, and absorb the natives. That is how ethnic groups become extinct.

I know by your efforts on behalf of the Chamorro that your heart is in the right place. But that's not good enough. If you support immigration to Guam, you unwittingly support the process that is extinguishing the Chamorro. Do you want them to follow the Hawaiians into oblivion?

Immigration must be terminated immediately. A non-binding measure must be put on the Guam ballot for voter approval: "Financial incentives shall be established to encourage the non-Chamorro to return to their homelands." The incentives should remain in place until the Chamorro fraction of the population returns to 80%, or 88% or 95%.

The late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was quoted as saying: "For me what is most important is to have a Jewish state in which at least 80 percent of its population is Jewish." (*Time*, November 13, 1995, p.64.) The U.S. population was 88 percent European-American in 1965; 95 percent may qualify as "homogeneous."

"Every ethnic group that considers itself a nation of people has the right to self-determination, on their own land, with secure borders."

As a leader in Guam, you are responsible for the destiny of the Chamorro. If your policy is wrong; then by the next millennium, the Chamorros' only presence will be in a footnote of an anthropologist's textbook.

Historians will write this epitaph: "The Chamorro dissipated in a flood of immigrants, guided by officials who promoted 'multiculturalism,' and 'diversity.' Now the world has one less culture, and diversity has been reduced by one ethnic group. But the good news is — and this is *really* important — the officials were not racists. Thank God."

Delegate Underwood, 6-18-96: Your ideas are racistic. By this, I mean you seem to assume that ethnic origin determines or should determine the course of thinking of human beings and the essence of political states.

Mr. Lorenz: Why use such a pejorative term? Do you believe the road to truth is paved with epithets?

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"Ethnocentric" is more neutral. However, "patriotic" is appropriate for any American who will defend this nation.

The formation of states and borders must accommodate human family and ethnic behavior. Homogeneous societies are what we evolved in; they are best suited to the human character; and they have less internal ethnic conflict. States must be formed to accommodate human character. It is folly to attempt to remold humans to fit a recent ideological construct.

Perhaps I'm wrong. Perhaps the cities Americans dream of moving to are New York, LA, and Miami — those blissful havens of multi-ethnic peace and harmony. I know Third Worlders want to move to those cities, but only for the money, not the experience of diversity.

"It is much easier to grant each nation its own land, government and defensible borders than it is to change human character. Until this lesson is learned, the carnage will continue."

Delegate Underwood: Of course, ethnicity does influence the course of nations and can be a positive force. It could also be all-consuming and become destructive.

Mr. Lorenz: The ethnic conflict in Bosnia and elsewhere is not the fault of humans who are behaving like humans. It is the fault of world leaders and intellectuals who insist that nations (i.e. ethnic groups) be divided and recombined with other nations into arbitrary political states without regard to the people's ethnic sensitivities.

This is not an excuse for atrocity or war. Ethnic wars are preventable, if the conditions that lead to them are studied, recognized, and avoided. When it comes to forest fire management, any idea is open to consideration, including allowing natural fires to burn or the use of controlled fires. But when it comes to preventing ethnic war, the multiculturalists insist that they, and only they, have the solution. All other ideas must be excluded from the debate. Unfortunately pluralistic societies rarely work, but homogeneous societies work well in regard to ethnic conflict.

There is a reason that multiculturalists are so adamantly opposed to former Yugoslav ethnic groups separating into independent states. If peace ensues, it becomes an embarrassing example of ethnic peace without reforming the human character. TV commentators assume it will work but disparage it as a "primitive" arrangement. It is "primitive" in the sense that human character evolved over hundreds of thousands of years and therefore human character itself is primitive. But it is not morally primitive.

It is much easier to grant each nation it's own land, government, and defensible borders than it is to change human character. Until this lesson is learned, the carnage will continue.

Delegate Underwood: Your views in a country predicated upon a history of immigration seem contradictory.

Mr. Lorenz: We had a history of *European* immigration. Which explains why we were 88% European in 1965. We have never had a history of transforming this country into large Asian and Latino regions.

We are not a nation of immigrants. We are a nation of Americans. We are a nation of European descendants. We have many important characteristics. "Immigrant" is not one of them. An immigrant can be anyone in the world. If you move from one country to another, you are an immigrant — it doesn't make you an American. Immigrants have nothing in common — neither source- nor destination-country. To say America is a nation of immigrants is to say we have no ethnic or national characteristics in common. Which is to say we have nothing in common. And if that were true, we would not be a nation, but a land of many nations.

Delegate Underwood: I do not see multiculturalism as a lack of patriotism nor do I see calls for the restriction of immigration inherently racist.

Mr. Lorenz: Multiculturalism, taught in grade-school, means less time spent on America's history, heroes, and glories. For American culture to share the stage

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with other cultures on an equal footing, diminishes its stature. Its special status as "our culture" has been lost. Its special status as "the best country in the whole world" has been lost. [All countries teach that theirs is the best. It's part of building cohesiveness, unity, and pride. There is plenty of opportunity in high school or college to be more objective.] In its place is a smorgasbord with no indication of what is ours. A five-year-old might be taught that the Fourth-of-July is an American celebration and Cinco-de-Mayo is a Mexican celebration but he might well ask "and which country is ours?" Since Cinco-de-Mayo attracts thousands of celebrants in San Jose, it is no longer obvious, even to the adult, what country we are in. This is not the process of teaching children to be loyal citizens of America. This is a process of teaching them to be citizens of the world. This is a mild form of multiculturalism and it is devoid of patriotism.

Malignant multiculturalism is explicitly anti-American, anti-Western, and pro-Third World. It selects the worst historical episodes for high-lighting, in addition to distortions and fabrications. It's a hatchet-job on our culture. Mexican-Americans go into a class like this and come out Mexicans, hating the "gringo" who "stole their" land and "oppressed" their people. This is anti-patriotic. It's also a damned lie!

Peter Brimelow quotes a local Mexican American: "I'm reverting to my original culture. I'm doing that along with many, many people because there are so many of us in the United States. My radio and television are always tuned to Spanish. I surround myself with Spanish-speaking people. I deal daily with bilingual people. [Other Americans] should face it — this is not going away. We're here to stay." (Brimelow, p.273)

Delegate Underwood: Your rationale for the restriction of immigration, however, is clearly racist and racistic.

Delegate Underwood, 7-8-96: You are obviously not a run of the mill racist; you are a well-read one (although a selective one).

Mr. Lorenz: I'm not a racist. But now that we've got the customary insult (which is a proclivity among people of your persuasion) out of the way, let's return to matters of substance.

Delegate Underwood: Let me see if you can catch my basic point — ethnicity is an important human characteristic from which cultural expressions (as in folk culture) are generated. But there is no discernable link between a person's ethnic heritage (as in blood lines) and his/her cultural expressions or affinity. To believe that there is a connection between ethnic blood lines and cultural expression (which fuels your Eurocentric view of America) is racistic. This is neither an idle charge or one which attempts to disguise the argument. It is central to the argument.

Mr. Lorenz: To illustrate your basic point, suppose hypothetically that all the Japanese sterilized themselves. And let's further suppose that the Europeans provided them a million or so babies each year. After a century the Japanese race would be extinct. But would the Japanese culture still be largely intact? (For the sake of this argument, let's ignore the genetic differences between races.) Thus your argument concludes that the essence of the Japanese — their culture — may be preserved without the non-essentials: the Japanese people. This example shows culture and ethnicity to "have no discernable link." Is that a fair rendering of your argument?

"Malignant multiculturalism is explicitly anti-American, anti-Western, and pro-Third World. It selects the worst historical episodes for high-lighting, in addition to distortions and fabrications."

The biggest problem with this line of thought is the suggestion that culture is more important than ethnicity; that cultural survival is more important than ethnic survival — that culture can survive without an ethnic base, and that ethnic survival is a matter of indifference. Run this idea past the people of Japan and the universal response would be one of abhorrence. That's because the Japanese (and the

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rest of the world) disagree with you, Delegate Underwood.

As a thought experiment, I fancied myself in a multicultural hospital nursery full of newborns here in California where your ideas prevail. I was surprised to hear the mothers say: "I'll take that baby. No, I think I'll take that one instead." So I questioned one mother, "Why are you not picking your own baby?" "Well," she said, "blood lines don't matter. Only culture. What babies need is a culture of love. That's what I have." "But," I objected, "what about kinship ties, what about ethnicity?" "Look," she said, "even the staff agrees. Newborns are newborns. They are interchangeable. Notice, they have no identification tags. This is the cure for prejudice and racism. You obviously are prejudiced towards newborns not related to you and you discriminate in favor of your own babies." Ethnicity is all about kinship and bloodlines.

"In all our debates you haven't said one word about preserving Chamorro ethnicity. A prudent person would think twice about the casual destruction of that..."

"Yes, I do favor a Guam-only immigration policy. But I also favor a Guam-only environmental policy and a Guam-only labor policy."

The Japanese example is hypothetical. The displacement of European-Americans in California over the same time frame will approximate the results of the Japanese example if immigration trends continue. That's not hypothetical. It's real. And it's happening now.

Another problem with your no-links-between-ethnicity-and-culture is that people carry their culture with them. That's why when the British colonized this land, the people who bet the culture would turn out Anglo, won their bets against those who thought it would turn out Vietnamese.

I gather from your use of epithets that you believe your anti-ethnicity ideology to be morally superior. But how can it be superior or even moral to wipe out various ethnicities like the Hawaiians, the Tibetans, the Mongolians — and yes, the Chamorro you supposedly represent — as well as doing serious damage to American and European ethnicities. If I could, I would turn back the Chinese from Tibet and Inner Mongolia. I would encourage the non-Chamorro to leave Guam, and I would defend America and Europe against the alien invasions. But you wouldn't. You, who are responsible for the Chamorro, are going to let their ethnicity slip gradually into oblivion, aren't you? In all our debates you haven't said one word in support of preserving Chamorro ethnicity. A prudent person would think twice about the casual destruction of that which nature or humans have evolved into over hundreds or thousands of years. After the Chamorro blood is thoroughly diluted, they'll never be back.

I believe Mr. Solzhenitsyn would oppose the loss of the Chamorro ethnicity. In 1970 he wrote: "The disappearance of nations would impoverish us no less than if all peoples were made alike, with one character, one face. Nations are the wealth of mankind, they are it's generalized personalities: the smallest of them has its own particular colors, and embodies a particular facet of God's design" (Brimelow, p.233).

Delegate Underwood: Yes, I do favor a Guam-only immigration policy. But I also favor a Guam-only environmental policy and a Guam-only labor policy.

Thank you, Perry.

Mr. Lorenz: You're welcome. TSC

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What Kind of City Do You Want, Mr. Mayor?

In search of a compassionate immigration policy

by Roy Beck

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's pronouncements this week in favor of the present high levels of immigration seem to make for good local politics. But they provide a poor model for Congress to follow in designing a logical and compassionate national immigration and urban policy.

A new city report stoked the mayor's enthusiasm for the national policy of allowing nearly one million foreign workers and relatives to enter the country each year. Narrowly focused on demographic changes, the report claims that if it had not been for the heavy influx of immigrants in the 1980s, New York City would have lost 9 percent of its population instead of gaining 3.5 percent.

That apparently proves to Mr. Giuliani that unfettered immigration helps maintain good housing and a healthy economy. Yet the mayor's vision seems limited. Yes, immigrants have contributed to New York's economy and have revitalized some poor neighborhoods. But at current levels, the influx is not the total economic boon that the mayor claims it is. Immigrants also raise the city's costs in many areas, including Medicaid, schools and housing.

Has the mayor forgotten the overcrowding of the city's schools that caused such disruptions last fall? The districts with the most crowded schools — for instance, District 24 in Queens — were largely those with high numbers of immigrants. The Board of Education has projected that by 2003 almost 400 schools would have to be built at a cost of $10 billion to accommodate new immigrants.

Worse, Mr. Giuliani's promotion of unfettered immigration comes at the expense of other residents. William Frey, a sociologist at the University of Michigan, has documented that blue-collar workers, facing competition for fewer and fewer relatively well-paying jobs, have fled cities with the highest levels of immigration.

Things are even tougher for low-skilled blacks. Katherine Newman, a Columbia anthropologist, found in a 1995 study that black teenagers in Harlem consistently lose minimum-wage jobs to immigrants. For instance, fast-food restaurants hired 38 percent of Latino and Asian applicants but only 13.6 percent of African-Americans.

"Worse, Mr. Giuliani's promotion of unfettered immigration comes at the expense of other residents.

In this brutal labor climate, large numbers of welfare recipients will soon have to compete for those same jobs. Wages, already depressed because of the large pool of cheap labor, could fall even lower.

And despite Mr. Giuliani's conceit that immigration affects only New York City, this population growth puts enormous pressure on the rest of the region. As more residents leave the city in search of uncrowded

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Roy Beck is Washington editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *and author of* The Case Against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social and Environmental Reasons for Reducing Immigration Back to Traditional Levels (*W.W. Norton*). *This op-ed appeared January 11, 1997 and is reprinted by permission.* *© 1997, The New York Times Company, distributed by New York Times Special Features/Syndication Sales.*

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schools and better housing, the suburban sprawl gobbles up more open space and worsens air and water pollution.

Mr. Giuliani's stance is also contradictory. He claims that immigrants are an economic plus — then chastises the federal government for not providing more welfare to legal immigrants. If the immigrant tide was the unqualified boon that Mr. Giuliani claims, then New York City, which attracts 20 percent of all newcomers, should not need the federal aid.

Finally, one wonders what kind of city Mayor Giuliani wants to build. By heralding immigrants as the city's saviors, the mayor seems to suggest that New York City cannot attract and retain middle-class residents. That resignation, more than anything else, could condemn New York to a depressing future of constantly searching for poor immigrants to replace its fleeing citizens.

TSC

The Anti-immigration Immigrants

Some are angry at activists who profess to speak for them

by Yeh Ling-Ling

It worries me that many Chinese immigrants with only a grade-school education are much more knowledgeable than most American Ph.D.s and politicians about the adverse impacts of mass immigration.

This past July, I was on a Chinese-language talk show in San Francisco discussing the urgent need to cap legal immigration at 100,000 a year for the next five years.

Soon after my appearance, at least 10 Chinese immigrants called me at my office. They said many Chinese immigrants are furious at Chinese activists for promoting immigration, welfare and racial tensions "for their own self-interests."

Despite the fact that most of them have little education, these callers said that continuous immigration will drive down wages and/or make it very difficult for our unemployed to find jobs.

Many of their acquaintances have been out of work for many years. They also know of cases where U.S.-born children could not start school early in September because no classrooms were available. They asked why our politicians have not halted all immigration for several years until we solve our existing problems.

Some recounted that when they came to the U.S. some 15 or 20 years ago, our cities were not so congested. Life then was much better and easier. One mentioned that some employers even came to her brother offering him well-paying jobs with great benefits. Now, she says, employers are "cheap" and "choosy" because too many people are hungry for work, and immigration only increases competition among job-seekers.

One unskilled immigrant pointed out that most of our manufactured products, such as garments, shoes and sporting goods, are imported.

She expressed great concern: "Overseas workers are getting those manufacturing jobs, but at the same time, we are importing immigrant workers by hundreds of thousands a year. What is the future for American workers and our children?" Julian Simon is one of the American Ph.D.s who claim that immigrants "revitalize our neighborhoods."

***Yeh Ling-Ling** is a Chinese immigrant and founder of the Diversity Coalition for an Immigration Moratorium, which is based in San Francisco.*

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My callers, however, pointed out that most immigrant-owned cash-transaction businesses do not pay taxes. Many immigrant employees work for cash and apply for welfare, in addition to bringing in siblings and parents, who they put on welfare.

"My callers, who have direct experience with mass immigration, urge that America enact a moratorium on all immigration."

Politicians and welfare "experts" warn that the new welfare law will throw many elderly legal immigrants onto the streets. My immigrant callers were certain that no elderly legal immigrant, especially Chinese, would go hungry.

Many seniors own businesses or homes but asked their children to be the legal owners so that the parents can apply for welfare. With our hard-earned welfare dollars, they said, many elderly Chinese legal immigrants travel internationally. Some even send SSI dollars back to China to buy homes. Some trade them in with casinos.

Many of the same callers are concerned that newcomers are often brainwashed by immigration activists into believing that white Americans discriminate against minorities.

They often said that China has been poor and divided because it has had too many people and too many languages. They fear that America is becoming another China.

They also said, "Native-born Americans are naive and soft-hearted, and they have been fully taken advantage of by many immigrants coming from different parts of the world who show no loyalty to America."

My callers, who have direct experience with mass immigration, urge that America enact a moratorium on all immigration.

TSC

Millionaires for Mass Immigration

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Having received national attention for his vigorous defense of immigration, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani on Thursday announced the formation of a coalition of prominent New Yorkers to help him fight the provisions of the new federal welfare law that he views as anti-immigrant.

The mayor also said he planned to file suit on Friday in federal court in New York challenging a provision in the welfare law, as well as a similar provision in the new federal immigration law, that allows city employees to turn in illegal immigrants who seek services like police protection, hospital care and public education.

The provisions overturn a New York City executive order in effect since 1985 that forbids city employees to report illegal immigrants.

In a speech prepared for delivery to the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Giuliani said that at a time when even President Clinton has been signing laws that cut government benefits for legal immigrants, it is important for other voices to be heard.

Among the members of the coalition, he said, would be Robert Tisch, co-chairman of Loew's Corp.; Alan Greenberg, chairman of Bear Stearns & Co.; Peter Max, the artist; and George Soros, the financier and founder of the Emma Lazarus Fund, which assists legal immigrants.

The coalition, he said, would try to stir public opinion against the provisions of the law that affect legal immigrants, and would offer specific help to immigrants who lose their benefits.

"We're going to have to expand what we do now, because immigrants are under a lot more attack now than they were before," Giuliani said.

The welfare law, signed in August by President Clinton, bars most immigrants admitted legally to the United States from receiving food stamps and Supplemental Security Income, which helps the elderly and the disabled poor. The law also denies public assistance, including welfare and Medicaid, to legal immigrants for the first five years.

"America became the most successful nation in history because of our constant process of re-evaluation, reform and revitalization," Giuliani's speech said, "a process that is driven by immigrants who come here to create better lives for themselves and their children. We are constantly being reinvented, not just by the free flow of ideas but by the free flow of people."

— *The New York Times*, October 11, 1996
Reported by David Firestone

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Family Values: a Valid Criterion for Immigrants?

by Joseph Daleiden

In the debate on immigration we often hear the curious justification that we should be happy to take in so many immigrants because they have the right sort of family values. I'm not certain what sort of "family values" the proponents have in mind, but international crime statistics do make me question what sort of "family values" we are importing.

The largest number of legal and illegal immigrants come from Mexico. While it is true that America is a violent country compared to other Western industrialized nations, our homicide rate pales in comparison with that of Mexico [See accompanying chart]. According to World Health Organization data, *the homicide rate of Mexican males was 31.5 per 1,000 inhabitants — over twice the 15.9 rate of the U.S.* In fact one reason for the increase in the U.S. crime rate in all categories in recent years has been the huge influx of Mexican immigrants.

Since the majority of immigrants from Mexico come from the lowest socio-economic group, which has the highest crime rate, it is not surprising that they have higher crime rates than even the average for Mexico. The result is higher crime in the U.S. For example, 25 percent of the inmates of federal prisons are foreign-born — the vast majority of these Hispanic.

Of course, to draw attention to the correlation between crime and America's immigration policy is politically incorrect and is thus scrupulously omitted by the media. A Public Radio broadcast dealt with the topic of the sudden rise in crime and gang violence in small towns throughout America. In the course of their interviews of officials in several small towns, every gang mentioned had a Hispanic name.

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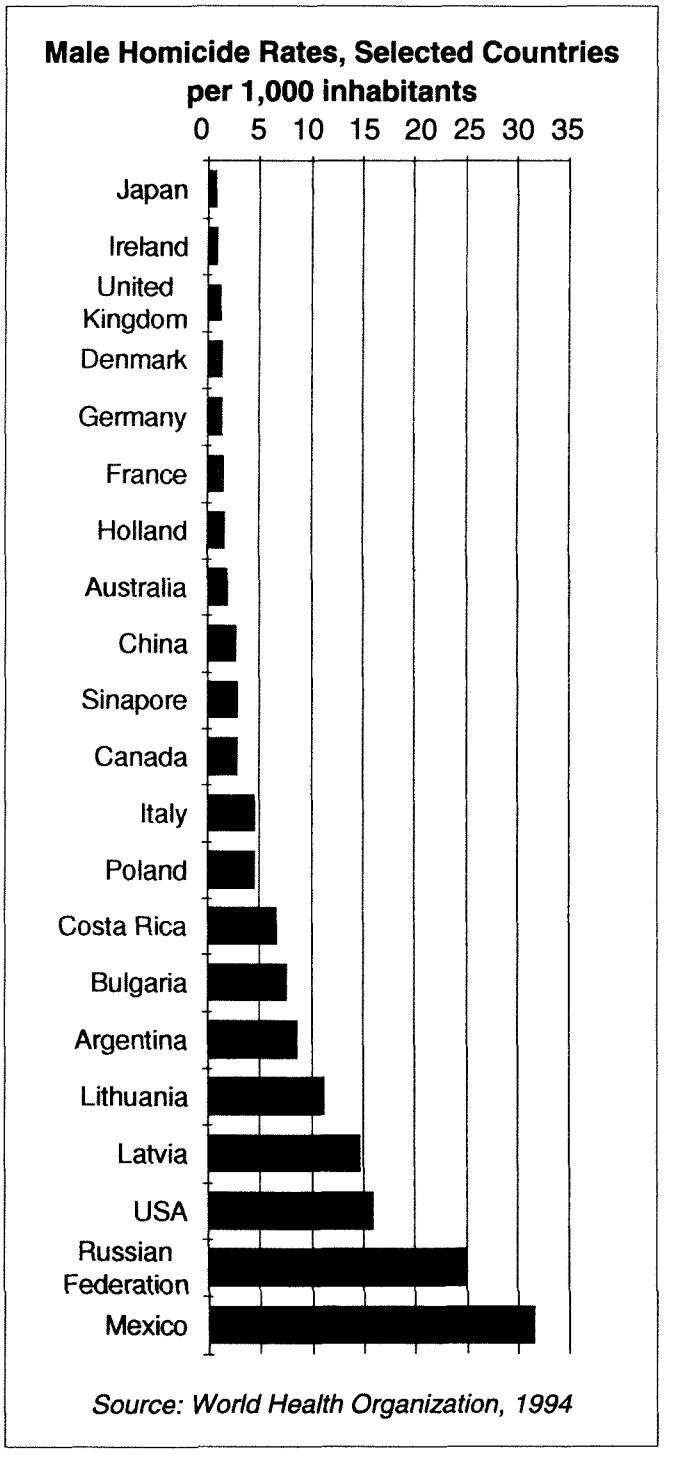

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But it would have been politically incorrect for PBS to note the obvious correlation between immigration and increased crime, so the interviewers concluded that the increase in crime was due to as yet undetermined social factors.

"...immigration must be significantly reduced to long-term, sustainable levels — somewhere between 100,000 and 300,000 annually from all sources. And, the mix of immigrants should be based primarily on the skills America needs..."

The link between massive immigration and higher crime rates is not limited to Mexicans or Hispanics in general. The last wave of immigration at the turn of the century was also accompanied by a rapid increase in crime rates. The murder rate in the United States in 1900 was only 1.2 per 100,000. By 1917, when prohibition was enacted, the murder rate had increased almost six-fold to 6.9 per 100,000. (During Prohibition the homicide rate rose further to 9.7, about the same rate as today.)

Obviously immigration is not the only factor that causes increases in crime. However, it should not be surprising that when we allow the immigration of large numbers of poor, uneducated and unskilled persons the crime rates increase. Nor should it be surprising that the rates of crime by immigrants closely approximate those of the country of their national origin.

If we used family values as the sole criterion, we would only permit immigration from European and Asian countries where homicide rates (and crime rates in general) are extremely low. But this too would be simplistic. The issue of who we allow in and how many depends on a host of factors including:

- immigration's impact on wage rates,
- job displacement,
- taxes,
- schooling,
- the environment,
- interethnic conflict,
- cultural values, and
- the consequences for future generations.

While beyond the scope of this present article, when these factors are examined, the answer becomes obvious to anyone who examines the issue in depth. First, immigration must be significantly reduced to long-term, sustainable levels — somewhere between 100,000 and 300,000 annually from all sources. And second, the mix of immigrants should be based primarily on the skills America needs rather than being heavily skewed toward the poor and unskilled. With 36 million Americans under the poverty line there is no reason to import more.

There are far more effective ways to alleviate poverty in the rest of the world than by inviting the poor to the United States. TSC

Peter Steiner
WE'RE NOT ADMITTING IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE FELONS. WE ALREADY HAVE ENOUGH FELONS OF OUR OWN.
IGRATION & NATURALIZATION
P. STEINER
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Colonists and Immigrants

Who were the first Americans?

by Henry Pratt Fairchild

[Editor's note: Henry Pratt Fairchild (1880-1956) was professor emeritus of sociology at New York University and one of the early leaders of the immigration restriction and conservation movements. Dr. Fairchild served as the first president of the Population Association of America. This essay is taken from his book *Race and Nationality As Factors in American Life* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1947, pages 118-122). His book, *The Melting Pot Mistake,* was reviewed by Brent Nelson in the Spring 1996 issue of *The Social Contract* (Vol.VI, No.3, pp.184-191).]

The American nation, as we know it today, is the direct consequence of the establishment of settlements of white Europeans upon the shores of an unexploited continent. The natives, although of fine physical stock and high mentality, had not got up the ladder of cultural progress nearly so far as the newcomers. They lived essentially on a hunting economy, although they had begun to develop the rudiments of agriculture. From the point of view of the newcomers, granted the prevailing attitudes of the world conquerors of the day, the natives represented little more than natural obstacles, lower animals that had to be brushed out of the way to make room for a superior type of being. They never represented military opposition in the full sense of the word.

The settlers at Plymouth Rock, Jamestown and New Amsterdam came under the banner of colonization, not of conquest. The natives were pushed steadily backward into the interior as the aggressors needed the territory. They were never exterminated; as a matter of fact they were not so nearly eliminated as is commonly supposed. Estimates of the total number of Indians on the continent of North America north of the Rio Grande at the time of the arrival of the white man vary from half a million to perhaps twice that number. According to the Census of 1940 there were in the United States 330,969 Indians, which represented an increase of about 90,000 over 1920. This aboriginal population constitutes a special problem by itself, but does not figure largely in the major issues at stake.

> The oft-repeated cliche, 'We are all immigrants, or the descendants of immigrants,' is typical of the sort of nonsense that is all too frequently uttered in the name of liberalism. Nearly half of us are the descendants, not of immigrants, but of colonists."
>
> *— Henry Pratt Fairchild, 1947*

The original white population came almost entirely from two or three Western European countries, with Great Britain standing far in the lead. Physiologically, they were so clearly akin that it is safe to say that no genuine racial problems were involved whatsoever. During the colonial period there were considerable additions from Germany, and the predominantly English element from Great Britain was supplemented by large contingents of the Scotch-Irish. But these, in turn, added no serious racial complications. The Germans were of the same basic Nordic stock represented so largely in the English population, and the other element, in spite of its name, was "very little Scotch and much less Irish," but really represented a very typical cross section of the British people. Consequently, when the North American settlements passed from the stage of colonies into an independent nation, the population was highly homogeneous, comprising racial elements closely similar to those of the British Isles, and with a culture representing simply a local variant of the English nationality.

Just what were the proportions of the population traceable to

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different European sources has been a matter of some uncertainty and considerable controversy. According to an estimate of the United States Bureau of the Census, based upon a careful study of the names of the original settlers as recorded in the first census of 1790, the proportions were as follows:

English	82.1%
Scotch	7.0%
Irish	1.9%
Dutch	2.5%
French	0.6%
German	5.6%
All other	0.3%

When the time came, after World War I, that the people of the United States finally reached the point of setting up definite quantitative limitations as a part of their immigration regulations, this matter became of great practical importance. For the quota system finally adopted was based upon the principle of "national origins," and this involved a determination of the proportions of the population of 1920 which could be traced back ultimately to their sources in various European countries. The foregoing estimate of the Bureau of the Census was adopted as one of the most important starting points in this investigation. Consequently, certain interested groups undertook to make a more thorough investigation, taking more account of given names as well as surnames. The principal results of this study were to reduce the representation of Great Britain and Ireland to around 80 per cent, to increase the German representation to around 10 per cent, and to increase slightly the other contingents. However, even assuming that these studies were more accurate than the original, the general situation remains practically unchanged; the original American population was overwhelmingly British in whatever sense that word can be used to indicate both race and culture.

The oft-repeated cliche, "We are all immigrants, or the descendants of immigrants," is typical of the sort of nonsense that is all too frequently uttered in the name of liberalism. Nearly half of us are the descendants, not of immigrants, but of colonists. Well, what's the difference?

There is a lot of difference. The colonist and the immigrant are functionally two quite different types of person. The colonist comes to a new land which is a dependency of the country from which he departs. The immigrant (typically) comes to a country already well established, and under a different political jurisdiction from his homeland — he crosses a political boundary in his journeying. The colonist braves the dangers of crude travel and of primary settlement. He may run about a fifty-fifty chance of dying on the way to his destination. If he gets there, he finds himself confronted with undeveloped territory, peopled perhaps by hostile natives. He has to carve out a place for himself. The immigrant comes to a land already well developed, with a stable economy, established services of protection and order, and abundant opportunities to make a living in varied occupations. He travels in vessels that are uncomfortable enough, heaven knows, but not particularly dangerous to health or life. The colonist comes to a life that he expects to be, in physical ways, harder, more arduous, and more dangerous than that which he leaves. The immigrant comes to a country which he hopes to find easier, more comfortable, more financially profitable than his old home — that is why he comes in the majority of cases. The colonist helps to build a new people, to give character to a new nationality. The immigrant seeks admission to a nationality already developed, in which in the

"The colonist comes to a new land which is a dependency of the country from which he departs... braves the dangers of crude travel and of primary settlement... comes to a life that he expects to be harder, more arduous, more dangerous than that which he leaves... helps to build a new people, to give character to a new nationality."

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beginning he must necessarily be something of a stranger.

All this does not mean that the colonist is a better man than the immigrant. It does not even mean that he is necessarily a different sort of person inherently. But the chances are that on the whole he is. The qualities that are needed for true colonization, and that prompt an individual to undertake that particular kind of venture, are quite different from those that encourage a dissatisfied member of an overcrowded old land to seek a better lot in a less congested and more progressive country.

"The immigrant (typically) comes to a country already well established, and under a different political jurisdiction from his homeland — he crosses a political boundary in his journeying... he comes to a land already developed, with a stable economy, established services of protection and order..."

It is true that the first immigrants from any particular area have something of the qualities of colonists — they are pioneers in a sense. They must have some endowment of courage, initiative, and determination. They blaze a trail socially. But once the current is well established, and the channels of passage are made familiar and well lubricated, the personal qualities that lead to migration are frequently the precise opposite of those of the pioneer. Within the limits of the regulations set by the receiving country, it is the unsuccessful, the weak, the dependent, the followers instead of the leaders, who make up a large part of a modern immigration stream.

Of a kind with the foregoing observation, and frequently associated with it, is the pious platitude that "The only real Americans are the Red Indians." This too has a spacious and generous ring, but precisely what does it mean? What is an American? What is America? The only possible sense in which that statement can be true is that America is just a section of the earth's surface, and anybody who lives on it is an American.

But it was not even called America before the white men came. In the only sense which has any true significance America (obviously meaning the United States) is a cultural entity — it is a nationality. There was no America when the Indians held undisputed sway, not on this continent or anywhere else. America did not exist at the time Columbus reached the end of his voyage, or when a band of Pilgrims moored their bark, or a group of sea-weary Englishmen landed on a southern shore. America was built, step by step and piece by piece, by the colonists — from England, from Holland, from France, from Sweden — and by their descendants generation after generation. It was built by blood and sweat and tears, by suffering and hardship, by thinking and planning, by joy and love and achievement.

America is still being built. A nationality is not a static thing. It is dynamic, alive, vital, constantly growing. Even the recent immigrant has an infinitesimal part in shaping its development. But the older a nationality is the more firm become its foundations, the more stable its institutions, the more precise and distinctive its features, and the more constant its spiritual unity. By the time colonization came to an end with the Revolutionary War, America had emerged as a genuine nationality in its own right. All its essential characteristics were well established. Later comers must logically be thought of as being admitted into a going nationality, not as helping to build one.

George Washington summed the situation up concisely when he said in his Farewell Address:

> *The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shade of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits, and Political Principles.* TSC

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A distinguished political scientist affirms the cultural basis for the nation-state

The Primacy of Culture

Book review by Kevin Lamb

The great ethical problem of our lifetime is to keep our society alive. But to understand our own society — for what we do not recognize as existing we can scarcely see as endangered — requires more than the assertion that it is today a society in the contemporary world. It requires disentangling the personalities of alien societies that time and custom have long fused with the image of our own.

Lawrence R. Brown in **The Might of the West**

In a provocative new book, Harvard political scientist Samuel P. Huntington envisions a geo-political shift in the post Cold War era away from strategic alliances based on ideology to natural coalitions of culturally bonded civilizations. This evolving geo-political development follows two international trends: a global identity crisis and a political vacuum left behind by discredited totalitarian ideologies. According to Huntington, "The question, 'Which side are you on?' has been replaced by the much more fundamental one, 'Who are you?'"

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order
by Samuel P. Huntington
New York: Simon & Schuster
367 pages, $26.00

By refining the core ideas from his 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article into an insightful and articulate volume, Huntington makes a convincing case that the cultural dynamics of several dominant civilizations, namely Sinic (Chinese), Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Western, Orthodox, Latin American and African, are forging political alliances among nation-states that resemble cultural federations. Released last November, Huntington's book has ignited another round of praise and criticism from journalists and scholars alike similar to the intense reaction that followed his essay three years ago.

Widely respected among political scientists for his work on military strategy and defense policy, Huntington adopts an iconoclastic perspective that in essence recognizes the cultural transformation of modern comparative politics. Any theory that identifies the source of political conflict, either *between* or *within* nation-states, as deriving from cultural differences will inevitably collide with prevailing political orthodoxy. It is these differences and their likely consequences, ethno-cultural strife, that occupy much of Huntington's attention. The nature of contemporary political discord more often than not revolves around the cultural fault lines of religion, language, ethnicity, values, customs and social traditions. Such cultural clefts, which differentiate one civilization from another, are likely to remain the source of both *intra* and *inter*-civilizational clashes.

Unlike a number of other contemporary scholars, Huntington recognizes the significance of a dominant common culture that unites nation-states into civilizations. This concept of civilization regards culture as an organic structure that evolves through several cyclical phases: growth, expansion, maturity and eventual decline. It is largely grounded upon the work of McNeill, Quigley, Sorokin, Spengler, Toynbee and other distinguished scholars. Huntington derives his theory of civilization from a synthesis of the ideas that were carefully developed by these prominent historians and sociologists. It is important to understand this because the premise underlying some of the criticism that has been leveled against Huntington rejects this particular view of civilization.

The primary reason why these future political

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conflicts increasingly take on cultural dimensions is the result of political realignments of nation-states along cultural lines. As Huntington puts it,

> *Peoples and countries with similar cultures are coming together. Peoples and countries with different cultures are coming apart. Alignments defined by ideology and superpower relations are giving way to alignments defined by culture and civilization. ...In a world where culture counts, the platoons are tribes and ethnic groups, the regiments are nations, and the armies are civilizations. The increased extent to which people throughout the world differentiate themselves along cultural lines means that conflicts between cultural groups are increasingly important; civilizations are the broadest cultural entities; hence conflicts between groups from different civilizations become central to global politics.*

The notion that civilizations (and their distinguishing qualities) arise from *tangible* cultural differences, and that such differences yield *actual* political consequences, is simply unacceptable to both neo-conservatives and egalitarians. The diatribes in Robert Kagan's review from *The Weekly Standard* contain a laundry list of exaggerated claims, including such polemical descriptions of Huntington's work as "Buchananite," "faddish," "Social Darwinian," "extreme cultural relativism," and "simplistic." Instead of undermining the credibility of Huntington's thesis, this kind of vitriolic criticism sheds more insight on the reviewer's own mentality and the degree to which an author effectively confronts the core beliefs of his critic. The fact that Huntington recognizes Islam as a legitimate civilization, which he argues should determine its own destiny and resist the 'Westernization' of its own culture, has driven his neo-conservative critics off the reservation. This is the political equivalent of fingernails moving along the surface of a chalkboard.

Reasonable skeptics are likely to conclude that the future is not predetermined by historical precedent as Karl Popper noted in *The Poverty of Historicism.* There are no empirical methods of assuring that historical events will recur with precise regularity in the future. Huntington understands this and points out that infallibility is not a precondition of paradigmatic shifts since they often result from incremental improvements on previously reliable theories.

One of Huntington's concerns that other restrictionists share is the need to implement effective policies that will reverse the 'cultural decline' of Western civilization. In Huntington's own words, "the central issue for the West is whether, quite apart from any external challenges, it is capable of stopping and reversing the internal processes of decay." The yardstick that Huntington uses to measure the vitality and cohesive tranquillity of any host culture is assimilation. Measures that would improve the cultural vitality of Western nations, particularly the United States, include further restrictions on *unassimilable* (legal and illegal) immigration; most notably, limits on the flow of legal and illegal immigrants that enter the United States from Mexico.

"Once the cultural, social and economic transformation of southern California exceeded an acceptable threshold, Californians approved overwhelmingly a measure that would begin to reverse ... an undesireable trend."

Another contemporary phenomenon that threatens a culturally homogeneous civilization is the impact of 'multi-culturalism.' In political terms, the nature of the opposition to Proposition 187 in California underscores the validity of Huntington's point. Once the cultural, social and economic transformation of southern California exceeded an acceptable threshold, Californians approved overwhelmingly a measure that would begin to reverse what a voting majority concluded was an undesirable trend. The political forces that opposed this citizen-based initiative, deciding that such a "divisive" measure undermines societal commitments to "multi-culturalism," were determined to preserve the *cultural interests* of California's ethnic-immigrant population above and beyond the *general interests* of native Californians. The customs and traditions of the host culture are under assault by this

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demography-as-destiny attitude that unassimilable populations adopt.

By drawing comparative cultural distinctions between civilizations and deciphering vigorous from decadent trends within civilizations, Huntington offers a sound theoretical framework for evaluating the future basis of geo-political affairs. This insightful perspective corresponds with an observation Lothrop Stoddard made earlier in this century;

> *in the last analysis, civilization always depends upon the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it. All these vast accumulations of instruments and ideas, massed and welded into marvelous structures rising harmoniously in glittering majesty, rest upon living foundations — upon the men and women who create and sustain them. So long as those men and women are able to support it, the structure rises, broad-based and serene; but let the living foundations prove unequal to their task, and the mightiest civilization sags, cracks and at last crashes down into chaotic ruin... Civilization thus depends absolutely upon the quality of its human supporters.*

Critics of Huntington's latest work have tried to discredit his theory by claiming that it is too sweeping, lacks consistency and contains too many questionable features. Much of this skepticism is based upon unreasonable standards that are used to evaluate the credibility of Huntington's theory. Despite its weaker elements, Huntington has made an important contribution in the field of comparative politics by discerning the political impact that cultural undercurrents exert on nation-states. TSC

Citizenship Devalued

How Western nations react to aliens

Book Review by Brent Nelson

The subtitle of David Jacobson's *Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship* may suggest to some readers that he argues for immigration restriction. Such, however, is not the case. Jacobson, a sociologist at Arizona State University, attempts an objective examination of his subject. His argument, in his own terms, is that

> *Transnational migration is steadily eroding the traditional basis of nation-state membership, namely citizenship. As rights have come to be predicated on residency, not citizen status, the distinction between "citizen" and "alien" has eroded. The devaluation of citizenship has contributed to the increasing importance of international human rights codes, with its premise of international "personhood"* (pp. 8-9).

Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship
By David Jacobson
Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
191 pages, $33.50

Jacobson begins with Western Europe and examines the distinct differences between nationhood and citizenship in France and in Germany. France is a "territorial nation," Germany an "ethnic nation." "In the first case, the nation is demarcated by the territorial and institutional boundary of the state. The sense of boundaries is critical for demarcating the national community. Such a nation is a nation of laws and legal institutions.... The 'legal concept of the nation' also pointed the way for attaining nationhood through a model of 'state to nation.' ...In the second case, the nation is organized politically on the basis of preexisting ethnic ties through a process of 'mobilization' and 'territorialization.' The 'nation to

Brent Nelson, Ph.D., *has written extensively on immigration including* America Balkanized: Immigration's Challenge to Government *(Monterey, VA: American Immigration Control Foundation, 1994).*

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state' model stresses more 'folkish' concepts of the nation and a common blood descent is emphasized. Customary and linguistic ties define the cultural markers of nationhood. Legal codes, though they of course exist, are not the basis for bonding the nation" (p. 22).

Under the French law of 1889, citizenship is granted to all children of foreign-born parents who were born and domiciled in France. The German law of 1913 "does not recognize birth on German soil as a basis for citizenship. Citizenship is based solely on descent" (p. 25).

When alien migrant workers in France and Germany became settlers, both nations were forced to adapt to the alien presence. In France, popular sentiment favored an attempt to move more toward the German model of citizenship, while legal pressures in Germany would modify its citizenship law from the opposite direction.

"...the acceptance of international human rights codes would threaten to abolish whatever remains of a distinctively American citizenship and nationality."

In his chapter on the United States, Jacobson describes a situation which parallels that of Europe:

> *Undocumented aliens raise children in the country (who attend local schools), join voluntary associations, and attend local churches. Changing political alliances and contemporary mores make, as the Hesburgh commission noted, the idea of mass deportation such as occurred in the 1950s beyond consideration. Transnational ties now become a basis for membership in American society. ...the courts have been forced to accept the undocumented aliens, ... as a fait accompli and to extend to these residents some form of legal recognition — simultaneously chipping away at concepts of consent, sovereignty, and self-determination" (p. 63).*

This was evident in the *Plyler v. Doe* decision in which the United. States Supreme Court ruled that children of illegal aliens must be admitted to public schools.

Again, Jacobson describes a challenge to governance in the U.S. which parallels that experienced by European states: "[T]ransnational ties cut across the vertical ties of the nation-state." The legitimacy of the nation-state is undermined: "First, the ability of the state to govern comes into question.... Second, social and political conflicts arise out of the presence of foreign populations.... Third, the fundamental relationship between state and citizen is broken.... Instead of the pact between state and citizen, we have a variety of links between the state and groups and individuals in its jurisdiction. Rights and privileges are a function of residency more than citizenship" (pp. 71-72).

In the case of Western Europe, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the European Convention on Human Rights contribute to the weight of "international customary law" (p. 78).

However, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, a United Nations document, poses a special problem for both the United States and Europe: "The European democracies in 1950 regarded (and, needless to say, still regard) economic and social standards as at best 'aspirational' and not rights as such. Furthermore, such rights as the right to work or housing would abridge individual liberties" (p. 82). Obviously, only a socialist state can guarantee rights to work and to housing.

While not recognizing such economic rights, the courts in the U.S. began to focus on international human rights codes

> *not merely as guides to the practice of states but as normative instruments in their own right, as legal regimes for the protection of individuals. A significant factor in this reevaluation was the perception of a near loss of government control of the migratory flow in this period.*
>
> *Huge numbers of persons could not be accounted for in terms of national legal categories. International human rights instruments do not expressly prohibit distinctions between citizens and aliens, as such,*

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but basic rights are 'guaranteed' for all persons within any state's jurisdiction, not just for citizens" (p. 97).

In the case of *Plyler v. Doe,* international customary law was not cited by the U.S. Supreme Court, but the 14th Amendment's reference to "any person" rather than "any citizen" (p. 102). By implication, the Supreme Court found parallels between the "person" of the 14th Amendment and the "person" of international customary law. This was the principle invoked when lower courts blocked the implementation of California's Proposition 187 which would allow that state to deny entrance to public schools of the children of illegal aliens (p. 104).

Jacobson notes an irony in Proposition 187 that has been given little attention: "Proposition 187 curiously demonstrated the permanence of large noncitizen populations and the devaluation of citizenship. The proposition reinforced the notion that the status of legal residents who are not citizens and the status of citizens are essentially the same in that the proposition's wording is designed to carefully target only illegal immigrants. Furthermore, the proposition ironically showed the intractability of the illegal immigration problem: how could hundreds of thousands of children be forced into the streets, or hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants be denied public health services, without public health and public safety ramifications?" (p. 105)

"Transnational migration is steadily eroding the traditional basis of nation-state membership, namely citizenship."
— David Jacobson
in *Rights Across Borders*

The United States is so much a product of its law, unlike Germany in which the folk precedes the state, that the acceptance of international human rights codes would threaten to abolish whatever remains of a distinctively American citizenship and nationality. Jacobson insightfully defines the American dilemma as follows:

> *The centrality of the Constitution also explains, in part at least, the decades-long resistance of the Senate to ratify international human rights treaties. The coincidence of the American political and national identities is embodied in the Constitution. In the words of Justice Black, 'the United States is entirely a creature of the Constitution.' Thus, the incorporation of international human rights law insofar as it, in effect, replaces constitutional law is sociologically problematic for the United States; what is the United States without its Constitution, the fountainhead of its political and legal life?" (p. 102)*

In Western Europe and the U.S., the self-determination of minorities depends less on territoriality, and more on claims on states made on the basis of international human rights law. There is "a progressive breakdown of the notion that political identity" depends on "the sovereign control of a territory" (p. 126). In Eastern Europe, however, there is "the opposite tendency ... namely, the territorialization of communal identity" (p. 127).

Two agencies of the European Union, agencies which Jacobson describes as "states without nations," have been combatting this tendency. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe were able to force Latvia to amend its citizenship law excluding ethnic Russians from citizenship (p. 114). "Reflecting a fundamental shift away from aspirations for unitary states and 'melting pots,' attempts at the assimilation of minority populations are deemed unacceptable" (pp. 115-116). These agencies have also raised the threat of economic sanctions against Russia over its actions against Chechnya (p. 122).

While not having been written in support of their efforts, *Rights Across Borders* may be useful to advocates of immigration restriction precisely because it confirms what restrictionists have said or suspected. Also, it provides a point of departure for those who wish to examine in more detail the devolution of citizenship which it describes. TSC

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Growthmania: A Diagnosis

Population growth's oppressive momentum

Book Review by John Rohe

Lindsey Grant has been a prolific writer on population and public policy over the years. He is a retired Foreign Service officer who served as staff member to the National Security Council and the Department of State. Noted ecologist Garrett Hardin calls his "a sane mind in an insane world."

In the title of his latest work, Grant invokes the metaphor of a Juggernaut, a large ceremonial chariot used in religious festivals in India. The unwieldy chariot is pushed and pulled with god-fearing fervor, but it is not controllable. It is an irresistible force that damages whatever strays into its path — human, animal, vegetable or mineral. Survival and safety become matters of random fate.

Juggernaut: Growth On a Finite Planet
by Lindsey Grant
Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks Press
310 pages, $24.95

Population growth, like the Juggernaut, has this fearsome ability to destroy and is propelled by a different force: human indifference. By suppressing reality, the population Juggernaut remains fixed on its destructive course. Only foresight and human compassion could conspire against it.

Reminiscent of the 1968 classic, *The Population Bomb* by Paul Ehrlich, Grant's book issues a compelling call to arms to meet the threats to the environment of population growth and migration. Why have these issues lost any claim on the American conscience? Why was population growth, a major concern on Earth Day in 1970, a forgotten cause on the more populous 1990s Earth Days? Why do major environmental protection groups flee from immigration reform? How did discussions of fertility rates become a political taboo? Is there no longer a legitimate population issue? How does such an important issue vanish from our agenda?

Perhaps it's a matter of genetic programming. "Our early ancestors survived by the ability to escape a predator or catch a fast-moving prey, not by contemplating environmental change," says Grant. "It is the human propensity to accommodate to population change rather than address it that makes this particular Juggernaut so dangerous."

Grant explains these "accommodations" to population change. First, and perhaps foremost, the abortion issue is, in many circles, a moral absolute. Once the topic of population/fertility is on the table, it inevitably becomes entangled with the abortion debate. Passions rage, impetuosity trumps reason, politicians seek shelter. Rather than imperil a friendship or threaten a political alliance, the population issue in its entirety is dodged.

Grant also points to reproductive freedom as another means of circumventing the population issue. The United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (September 1994) was largely dominated by those promoting freedom of choice. Population became a non-issue in this conference on "population," and the irony was lost on those attending.

Other explanations for our present disregard for population issues include universalism (the one-world dream which conveniently overlooks any obligation to our own disenfranchised or the environment), innumeracy (the mathematical equivalent of illiteracy), the failure of leadership, a denial of reality, an unexamined allegiance to growth, or charges of racism. These principles have operated to dwarf population as a matter for concern.

Years of demographic studies and population

***John Rohe** is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan with a long-standing concern for the environment. He is currently at work on an extensive paper that will commemorate the 200th anniversary of Malthus' "Essay on the Principle of Population" which was published in September of 1798.*

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scholarship enable Grant to marshal hard-hitting facts and projections. Whether one's cause is conservation, freedom, independence, the standard of living, racial equality, feminism, education, democracy, jobs, opportunities, migration, compassion, or even biblical directives, this book demonstrates that the population issue lies at the heart of any discontent. Nevertheless, we remain mired in mental paralysis on this fundamental topic.

"As we ascend to awesome heights on this exponential curve, population pressures increasingly deplete resources and add to pollution, yet America's public policy opens a wider door to high-fertility immigrants."

Grant depicts the awesome force of exponential population growth which finds expression in graphs about fertility rates, resource depletion, grain harvests, world fish stocks, population pyramids, unemployed and idle citizenry, dependency ratios in an aging society, and the effects of immigration on America's demographic destiny.

Juggernaut posits population growth as a product of social, cultural, economic and political influences. As these forces operate on the population base, and as international pressures to migrate mount, there will be winners and losers in the domestic and international demographics sweepstakes; the author profiles them.

Grant doesn't see us coming up against a wall. Rather he visualizes an ever-increasing slope. As we ascend to awesome heights on this exponential curve, population pressures increasingly deplete resources and add to pollution, yet America's public policy opens a wider door to high-fertility immigrants. This imposes additional pressures on dwindling resources and mounting wastes. We're on a cycle. Synergies (forces driving each other) spiral out of control. On it goes: more consumption, a bigger magnet for migration, more waste, more people — yet talk of population remains suppressed. Grant cautions: "...if we cannot manage our fertility, nature will manage our mortality."

Juggernaut is not a book that leaves one feeling good, yet optimism pulses beneath its bleak scenarios. It's a worthy reference, a valued source for statistics. And for those of us interested in immigration reform, Grant adds a number of arrows to that quiver. TSC

America's Teens See Too Many Immigrants

Many top high school students think America has too many immigrants, and they worry they will have to fight foreign and minority applicants for jobs and admission to college, a survey found.

51% of the students surveyed said affirmative action and immigration policies will make it harder for them to get the job they want, according to the annual "Who's Who Among American High School Students" survey. 49% said these policies will make it tougher for them to get into the college of their choice.

"I think the amount of immigrants right now is OK, but I don't think we need any more," said Noemi Pizzini, a 17-year-old senior at Monsignor Scanlan High School in New York City.

Pizzini said she believes immigrants deserve equal opportunity in America; her mother came from the Dominican Republic and her father immigrated from Jamaica. But she doesn't like affirmative action. "I don't want to be a quota," she said.

Tim Gilmartin, a 17-year-old senior from Chamblee High School in Atlanta, said it's too easy for foreigners to get into the United States. He said he and some of his white male friends worry about competition from minorities and immigrants. "Affirmative action really bothers me," he said. "It makes me feel like because I'm a white male, that I'm one of the most discriminated against."

According to the survey, 52% of the students said the U.S. has too many immigrants, 43% said there was the right amount and 3% said there were too few.

The survey was sent last summer to nearly 8,000 high school students ages 16-18, and 3,370 responded. 98% of the students who returned the survey said they planned to go to college, and all had A or B averages.

— Associated Press, 12/20/96

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The Overseas Chinese

Ever the Golden Venture

Book Review by Denis McCormack

Thousands of years ago, according to mythology, there lived the Yellow Emperor, Huang Ti, who in the Han Chinese heartland of the Yangtze Valley was the first patriarch of "the Middle Kingdom." This term itself epitomizes how the Chinese came to see their place in the known world. Their ethnocentricity was therefore easily explained within their role as a civilizing influence on surrounding peoples whose duty it was to pay tribute, as do spokes to a hub. The Chinese admitted no other state to equality...barbarians were the names the Chinese gave them, the Chinese never had any myths about the "noble savage." One of Lynn Pan's sources, Professor Wang Gung Wu, vice-chancellor of Hong Kong University and acknowledged doyen of overseas Chinese history scholarship, has recently stated, "where most Asians are concerned, the survival of aboriginal peoples and cultures has never had any priority." In contrast to the modern white man's burden, collective racial guilt about the impact on different peoples of history's unfolding events is not a concept the Chinese ponder.

Sons of the Yellow Emperor: The Story of the Overseas Chinese
by Lynn Pan
New York: Kodansha America
432 pages, $16.00

The Yellow Emperor is considered to be the progenitor of all who recognize themselves as Chinese in race, culture, language and lore regardless of local variations and passports. "The idea of foreign blood is distasteful to a people so strongly imbued with a sense of Chinese and barbarian, Us and Them...the Chinese became the world's most obsessive genealogists." As a result of the cultural emphasis on ancestor worship as a past tense of filial piety in the present, it has always provided an added impetus to maximize reproductive success among Chinese. In the absence of the demographic transition which follows industrialization and provision of state welfare for the aged, etc., one needed children and grandchildren a-plenty to pay respect to ancestors including oneself in the family/clan temple if the ancient traditions continuum was to be maintained, the fields plowed, and the clan's interest extended. No doubt the time-tested efficiency of this socio-biological survival strategy is one cause of China's ever-present population problem. "In a country where there had appeared no new kinds of material, technical or political improvements to absorb the proliferation of people, such numbers made for destitution, popular demoralization, corruption, apathy, and the breakdown of public order and personal morality."

Although some Chinese had earlier gone to Southeast Asia, the modern historical backdrop painted by Pan is that the overseas Chinese were brought forth in big numbers and spread around the globe as a result of European mercantile/colonial expansion's capacity to harness and redirect some excess humanity from a China, "[h]appy to be relieved of the crush of its own population" even though emigration for any reason was thought to be unfilial, unpatriotic, and therefore officially forbidden on penalty of death, at least in theory, until well into the 19th century.

Regardless of wherever they came to reside, or under which flag, the overseas Chinese were liked and encouraged by newly ensconced European traders and colonial administrators for their industriousness, their forbearance as reliable labor, and their business acumen as traders and merchant middlemen. The profits and dividends to be had by utilizing the networking talents of the overseas Chinese were deemed to be self-evidently a good thing by those in control. As Pan relates, however,

***Denis McCormack** is Australian correspondent for* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. *He is one of the principal activists for immigration reform in that country.*

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less sanguine views and assessments of the overall impact of the overseas Chinese on the host society's economy and culture always emerged eventually.

"He knew he was not wanted," be it in Southeast Asia, Canada, Britain, The U.S., South Africa, Australia or Peru! Pan's account of 19th and early 20th century immigration restriction legislation aimed at the Chinese in all these countries is enlightening. The local folks in all these countries who were forced into economic, cultural and demographic competition with overseas Chinese, have, without exception, and to varying degrees, become wary and resentful of a stratum of people they came to perceive as an unnecessary imposition, an alien and complicating factor introduced into their societies by, and for the benefit of, powers beyond their control. "The British seaman did not disguise his distaste for the Chinese... although in fairness to him, it should be noted that the Chinese, on top of being a threat to his livelihood, were strike breakers." "The consternation...confirmed in many an anxious European his dread of being swamped by the Chinese, in whose formidable numbers and tenacity he perceived a threat..."

"With countless millions of Chinese facing a lifetime of relative scarcity in relation to what they observe of the West on TV, their tradition of pain today for gain tomorrow...will guarantee the flow of risk-takers."

Pan explores and explains "Chineseness" and the in-group, in-built solidarity factors which maintain it. Associations based on family-clan names, dialects, guilds, regional origins, secret societies, criminal organizations and schools were formed or transplanted to wherever the Chinese settled.

These institutions formed potent culturally re-enforcing mechanisms supportive of a widely scattered people who knew that the differences between each other in language or regional origin in China, although obvious to themselves, were far less obvious than the contrast they collectively represented in the eyes of the host majorities of the foreign lands in which they settled. On the bottom line of "Chineseness" maintenance, Pan says "the replenishing of Chinese settlements with fresh tides of immigration ensured that there were enough first-generation immigrants around to keep the communities looking and feeling Chinese.

It seems little is new in legal or illegal immigration regarding the Chinese. Student refuge was offered in 1949 post the communist takeover a la post the Tienanmen Square massacre. The author explains the mechanics of 19th century indentured labor migration or "credit-ticket system" which "was subject to countless abuses....Secret societies were organic to overseas Chinese communities. The two had gone together from the very beginning, with the immigration business." Much of this hasn't changed, according to recent INS analysis of the aptly named *Golden Venture* voyage which would have eventually returned between $9 and $15 million to its Triad organizers should its human cargo have been safely and discreetly landed into U.S. sweatshops to work off their passage.

With countless millions of Chinese facing a lifetime of relative scarcity in relation to what they observe of the West on TV, their tradition of pain today for gain tomorrow or "deferred gratification" will guarantee the flow of risk-takers. Even after the Chinese Exclusion Laws of the late 1800s "...it took some ingenuity and some money, Chinese continued to enter the United States as illegal immigrants, smuggled across Canadian or Mexican borders, or through chicanery — in 1901, for example, it was estimated that fraudulent entrants were arriving at a rate of twenty thousand a year." There were also some ingeniously simple ways to circumvent the system in any country, such as the "slot racket" whereby fictitious offspring or "paper sons" would be created by American Chinese with re-entry rights. They would announce the birth of a non-existent child in China, thus creating a "slot" for sale to a prospective immigrant or relation. Even the 1906 earthquake in San Francisco was exploited because of "...the destruction of immigration records of U.S. Customs. This gave thousands of illegal immigrants their chance to claim residence rights and to apply to bring their families over from China."

Pan gives the reader a short course, including some case studies, on the business ethics and psyche

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of the overseas Chinese. Some frank admissions are made about the near impossibility of distinguishing between legitimate business, political patronage, organized crime, and a culturally ingrained bias toward perpetuating this status quo. Expanding markets, networks, and bank balances take priority and are fueled by a quiet confidence in themselves to accomplish what they consider to be required.

The Chinese preference to, and for, their own kind is a recipe for blending economic success with racial and cultural solidarity was stated most clearly by Singapore's founding strongman and long-serving ex-Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, when speaking at the World Chinese Entrepreneurs Convention in Hong Kong, 1993:

> *The potential for economic networking is considerable... People feel a natural empathy for those who share their physical attributes. This sense of closeness is reinforced when they also share basic culture and language. It makes for easy business rapport and trust...*

That logic sounds honest, fair and reasonable, and good enough for Chinese but what about the non-Chinese? Perhaps if there was a more universal understanding and mutuality of respectful acceptance between races — that the age old "Yew-them-and-us" principle simply articulated above has always existed and always will — much future conflict could be avoided. Issues such as international trade, world government, immigration and deliberately fostered multiculturalism and multiracialism spring to mind. In the second sentence of her preface Pan, who like Lee Kuan Yew, is overseas-Chinese born, writes, "...race is necessarily a theme of the book and no one can be entirely neutral when it comes to race." This is an honest statement that many a modern faddish tome on race relations and multiculturalism could usefully employ on page one!

Pan's own research has been extensive. She has mined well the already rich literature on the overseas Chinese, as evidenced in her bibliography, notes and index, all of which, along with some maps, enhance the book's utility. Her sweep of history brings to mind the perfect pun — "Pan-oramic" — but it is the book's comprehensiveness, attention to detail and basic honesty which makes it "Omnimax" in its projection of the good, the bad and the ugly about the overseas Chinese. Sympathetic as she naturally is to the story of her own people, nothing deters her from dealing very candidly with some tough, discomforting topics. Pan lauds or condemns when appropriate, while entertainingly performing a valuable service to her own people and those who wish to learn about them. Everything, from the historical origins of the rickshaw to Chinese lesbian societies, comes into focus.

It is doubtful that some of her observations could have passed a mainstream publishing editor but for her own Chinese background and the natural immunity this afforded her against charges of racism. Pan's chapter titled "The Melting Pot" gives a vivid profile of "anti-racists" in the race relations industry that many would recognize, be they in Britain, Australia, the U.S.A., Canada, New Zealand, France, etc. "The anti-racist can be as intolerant as the racists." Pan discusses with compassion and accuracy the dilemma of overseas Chinese born in America, Britain or wherever, who have become culturally "deracinated," yet still bear the distinct physical appearance of their race.

"Pan gives the reader a short course...on the business ethics and psyche of the overseas Chinese."

The ongoing existence of China is a massive, inexhaustible well of culture, capable of "re-sinicizing" its prodigal sons and daughters on a visitational basis, a generation or two after entering some melting pot, or salad bowl. That existence is a formidable resource that is able to salve the racial and cultural soul of those Chinese who, through their lengthy time of geographical estrangement, feel the need of re-bonding to their roots.

What is left undiscussed, however, because it is not relevant to the enterprise of this book, is just what long-term implications this phenomenon holds for the core cultures of western countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the U.S. and Britain — the destinations for ever-larger numbers of migrating Chinese who know "deep in their hearts ... that they love China best when they live well away from the place." TSC

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Recent Reports of Interest

by Wayne Lutton

The Net Costs of Immigration: The Facts, the Trends, and the Critics by Donald Huddle, Ph.D.
Department of Economics, Rice University
October 1996, 101 pages, $15.00
Carrying Capacity Network
2000 "P" Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036
(202) 296-4548

The 24.4 million legal and illegal immigrants who settled in the United States since 1970 cost American taxpayers $65 billion in 1996, in excess of the taxes those immigrants paid, according to the latest comprehensive study on immigrant-related costs prepared by Rice University economics professor Donald Huddle. Over 62%t of the net national cost of immigration in 1996 was attributable to legal and legalized (thanks to the 1986 amnesty) immigrants. Illegal immigrants generated about 38% of the total net cost.

Furthermore, Professor Huddle determined that approximately 2.3 million, predominantly low-skill, Americans were displaced from employment during 1996, due to the continuing high influx of immigrant workers. Public assistance to these displaced workers, including Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, and unemployment compensation, in 1996 totaled more than $15.2 billion.

Although high levels of immigration have been portrayed by Ben Wattenberg as the "life saver" of the Social Security system, Dr. Huddle determined that a net deficit of $8.5 billion to Social Security is attributable to the foreign-born population.

Dr. Huddle has been tracing the mounting costs of our current immigration policies nationally, and to such states as California, Florida, Texas, and New York, in a series of reports published by CCN. His work has come under fire from pro-immigrationists, such as Julian Simon and Jeffrey Passel of the Urban Institute. In his latest study, Prof. Huddle responds to his critics, and reveals the serious flaws in the Simon and Urban Institute studies, which have been widely cited in the popular press and by anti-immigration reformers, such as Michigan Senator Spencer Abraham.

Even if the 1996 welfare reforms aimed at reducing immigration-related costs remain in effect [President Clinton has pledged to repeal or "revise" them], Dr. Huddle estimates that the net cumulative costs for the decade from 1997-2006 are projected to reach $866 billion, for an average of around $86.6 billion annually. Data from the 1990 Census indicate that the poverty rate of the entire foreign-born population is 42.8% higher than among native-born U.S. citizens, and the average value of public assistance received adjusted for the public assistance recipiency rate was 44.2% higher than the average for all U.S. residents.

Huddle sees that cost savings can be realized only by significant cuts in legal as well as illegal immigration.

What is the Relationship Between Income Inequality and Immigration? by John L. Martin
October. 1996, 28 pages, $7.50
The Federation for American Immigration Reform
1666 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20009, (202) 328-7004

Reviewing 1990 Census data for the 51 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) that account for about half the U.S. population and 75% of our immigrants, John Martin concludes that large-scale immigration is linked to the shrinking of the American middle class. Because current U.S. policy favors the admission of poorly educated and unskilled immigrants, it is not surprising that they and their children are contributing to increasing income inequality.

Like some other observers, Martin sees the United States possibly heading toward a future resembling conditions prevailing today in many Third World countries, where a relatively few wealthy secure themselves in private communities, while the rest of the population wallows in poverty and crime. As he remarks in the Introduction to his study, "To the extent that the economic strength and political stability of the United States have been forged on a large middle class, any factor that diminishes that pattern must be looked at as a challenge to the stability of our fundamental institutions."

Martin insists that reforms in legal immigration and

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a closing of the jobs magnet to illegal aliens, through a secure employment identification system, must be enacted to help halt the further erosion of our middle class, reduce government costs at all levels, and brighten employment prospects for American citizens.

America's Victims at Its Southern Border
by Jamie Langius, research consultant
California State Assembly Republican Caucus
Office of Policy Research
July 1996, 30 pages, $5.50 per copy from:
Assembly Publications Office, State Capitol, Box 942849
Sacramento, CA 94249-0001

This report provides a sobering overview of our increasingly unstable and unsafe southern border with Mexico. The author documents that American citizens and businesses are victims of cross-border criminal gangs, who run a lucrative trade smuggling illegal aliens and narcotics into the United States.

Train robberies by border bandits are now common along the rail lines entering Arizona and California. The drug trade and gang activity has escalated as the Mexican economy continues to decline, thanks to unending inflation and endemic government corruption. From Brownsville, Texas to Imperial Beach, California, the flow of illegal aliens, drug runners, and thieves has increased dramatically.

In October 1994, the Clinton Administration launched a much-heralded campaign, "Operation Gatekeeper," intended, they said, to seal off a five mile stretch of the border near San Diego, extending from the beach to the Otay Mesa International Border Crossing. In a recent release, Clinton INS Commissioner Doris Meissner claims that "The [Southern] border is harder to cross now than at any time in history...Operation Gatekeeper has clearly achieved historic progress following years of neglect."

This report presents evidence suggesting that the "success" of Operation Gatekeeper has been largely in the area of public relations. Contrary to Clinton Administration boasting, it appears that the flow of illegal aliens, drug runners, and other criminals has simply been shifted away from the coast towards eastern San Diego County and that the actual level of alien oriented violence has been increasing.

In addition to the loss of personal security suffered by Americans living along the border, the report reviews some of the dollar costs incurred by taxpayers in California and in the rest of the country. As the author reminds his readers, "While not every American resides on the border, we all are paying the price for sectors that are out of control."

Addressing the Criminal Alien Problem
by the Interstate Criminal Alien Working Group
August 1996, 47 pages
Institute for Intergovernmental Research
P. O. Box 12729, Tallahassee, FL 32317.

With representatives from the Department of Justice, including the Immigration & Naturalization Service, as well as regional and state law enforcement agencies, this report by the Interstate Criminal Alien Working Group provides a statistical overview of the criminal alien problem, as well as a number of recommendations for responding to this growing problem.

The authors are quick to point out that "no one knows with certainty how many criminal aliens are present in the United States, or how many arrive or leave in a given year.... Accurate information is not available to estimate the cost of alien-instigated crime to victims or to estimate the financial and workload impact on components of the criminal justice system other than state prisons... New York officials estimated the costs for 1993 as being between $409.3 and $527.7 million. If such data were availabe for all 50 states, the total would be staggering." According to this report:

- It is estimated that approximately 3.7 million aliens enter the USA illegally every year;
- The number of criminal aliens deported or excluded rose from 5,955 in 1988 to 32,175 in 1995, clearly but a fraction of those who should be deported;
- As of May 31, 1996, 30,893 non-U.S. citizens were incarcerated in Federal prisons, 25-30% of the total;
- By May 1996, 77,257 foreign-born convicts were in state prisons, with 80% of this total incarcerated in just seven states: California, Florida, Illinois, New York, Texas, New Jersey, and Arizona;
- The number of foreign-born criminals is undoubtedly *understated*, since "Most aliens are currently identified only when they ... voluntarily indicate they are foreign-born." Furthermore, the available statistics do not include criminal aliens incarcerated in county jails (In California, for instance, only 2 of every 10 convicted criminals are in state prisons. The other 8 are in county jails, placed on probation, or serve a split sentence of jail and probation.). TSC

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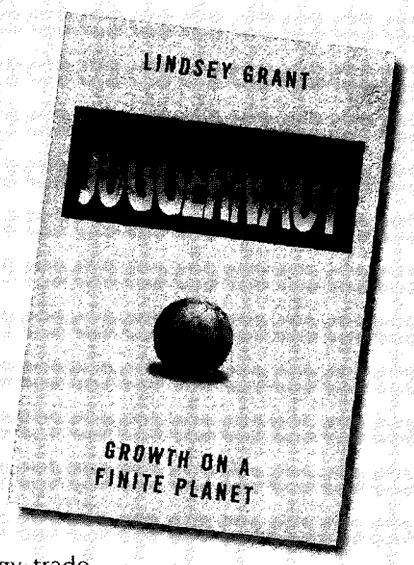
- **Garrett Hardin**
Author, *The Tragedy of The Commons*



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